

A PRELIMINARY DESCRIPTION OF SENTENCE STRUCTURE
IN THE e-SÁAKA DIALECT OF e-MÁKHUWA

by

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ABSTRACT

This study establishes a framework for the description of sentence structure in the e-Sáaka dialect of e-Mákhwa (Mozambique) including the structure of units lower on the rank scale (clause, group/phrase, word).

The model of description is eclectic, but draws especially on Halliday's Scale and Category approach as represented by Maw 1969 and on Guthrie 1961. The study is based on a corpus of recorded texts, one of which appears with syntactic annotation and translation as an appendix.

Introductory chapters deal with the phonology and tonology of the language, the latter having significance for the focusing and nominal predication mechanisms of the language. Successive chapters then deal with the morphology of the nominal and verbal, the structure of the group, clause and sentence. Selectors (demonstratives, Chapter 4) play a special role in the textual delimitation of nominal groups, and reference is made to their links with psycholinguistic encoding units (Chapter 6).

Chapter 5 (verbal morphology) includes consideration of the way in which processes of verbal derivation relate to systems of transitivity and aspect; examination of the syntactic slots associated with the transitivity system (Chapter 7) includes a delicate distinction of categories of object. The analysis of verbal conjugation in the same chapter leads to distinction of mood characterising different clause types whose relationships are discussed in Chapter 8.

Chapter 7 also includes an examination of the role of the ideophone in clause structure and its relation to the predicate. Recognition of cleft and situative clauses as special structures simplifies their description and annotation.

The final chapter on sentence structure also considers relationships between sentences in larger units termed episodes.

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DEDICATION

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1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 LANGUAGE SITUATION AND THE PLACE OF e-Sáaka (e-Mákuwa) AMONGST THE LANGUAGES OF MOZAMBIQUE

Mozambique includes in its territory languages from four of Guthrie's (1967-71) Bantu zones: ki-Swahili G40, ci-Yao, ci-Makonde P20, e-Mákuwa/e-Lómwe P30, ci-Nyanja N30, ci-Sena S10, ci-Tsonga S50, ci-Copi S60. Each of these groups include a number of dialects making the country among the more linguistically diverse African countries.

E-Sáaka is one of the several dialects belonging to the e-Makhuwa/e-Lómwe group (P30). Apart from Portuguese, this language group is, perhaps, one of the most widely spoken in Mozambique, being used by the majority of people in at least the northern provinces of the country: C. Delgado, Niassa, Nampula and Zambezia. E-Sáaka itself is spoken in the District of Erati, Nampula province and some parts of the District of Chiúre (o-Cihúri) in the Cabo Delgado province.

1.2 PREVIOUS STUDIES

The Portuguese assimilationist colonial policy regarded the native languages as "dialects" in the derogatory sense of the term, and, as a result, they received very little scholarly attention within Mozambique. E-Mákuwa and e-Lómwe were no exception. On the other hand, the early interest shown in the area by missionaries, slave-traders¹ and travellers, conscious of the pitfalls of reliance on interpreters,² led to a considerable number of vocabularies (Mylius 1790, Salt 1814, O'Neill 1882, Rankin 1886, Soveral 1887, Cabral 1924); to these may be added vocabularies due to scholars of comparative Bantu: Koelle 1854, Bleek 1856, Last 1889, Werner 1901, Johnston 1922; recent Portuguese-e-Mákuwa dictionaries have been written by Prata 1973 and Matos 1974.

Elementary grammars (do Sacramento 1904, Maugham 1905, de Castro 1933 and Prata 1960) were mostly very inaccurate and based on categories derived from Portuguese or Latin grammars. More substantial descriptions were written concerning the Tanzanian dialects of e-Mákhwa spoken in the Masasi district: Maples 1879, revised and extended by Woodward in 1926. Meinhof in 1908 described features of e-Mákhwa phonology and morphology from a comparative point of view, supplementing documentary sources such as Maples 1879 with an informant from Masasi.

More recently, some dialects of Tanzania: Ikorovere and Imithupi, have been the object of more serious linguistic studies: Cheng and Kisseberth in a series of articles (1979-81) reviewed features of e-Makhuwa (Ikorovere) tonology, while Susan Stucky presented a short study on focus (1979) and analysis of word order variation in Makua (1981).

Within Mozambique the e-Mákhúwani dialect of the region surrounding Nampula has become tacitly accepted as the standard form of e-Mákhwa partly due to the radio station and partly to the Centre of Anchilo (Waánsilo) where biblical and catechetical studies have been conducted in e-Mákhúwani.

1.3. METHOD OF RESEARCH AND CHOICE OF DIALECT

Though taking into consideration the central dialect of Nampula, the object of this research has been another dialect known as e-Sáaka and spoken about 300km away from Nampula. This dialect was selected partly for practical reasons of access, and partly because it represented a more homogeneous dialect than that of the provincial capital.

It was decided that my study should be based on a corpus of recorded texts to ensure objectivity and avoid the problems inherent in using oneself as a source of linguistic information. (For the same reason, I avoided using my own dialect as the focus of the study, although it is sufficiently close to permit some use of my intuitions in the analysis of the data.)

The purpose of the corpus was immediately to permit a descriptive analysis of e-Mákhwa sentence structure, while providing material that would serve over a longer period for more exhaustive linguistic study. Accordingly, I spent three weeks recording in Aldeia Comunal Josina Machel. My aim was as far as possible to record spontaneous speech reflecting social and contextual variations. I also spent a further week at Aldeia Comunal Samora Machel whose inhabitants described their speech as "Erati", but have not drawn on this material in the present work.

From a corpus of a hundred and fifty texts recorded, fifteen were selected for transcription and detailed study. One is presented here in full with detailed analysis (Appendix). The nature of the text here presented is that of a narrative with conventional exchange of dialogue between two narrators, the main narrator (Mpuhiya: S) and the co-narrator (Nihorosa: R). The co-narrator responds to the main narrator and sometimes takes over from him. Apart from this conventional exchange a lot of dialogue is attributed to the characters of the narrative.

1.3.1 Synopsis of the narrative

The plot of the narrative is here summarised in order to give a context to the numerous extracts that will be cited:

Two men were born in different parts of the province of Nampula: one at Mampa-Khoma near the Indian Ocean and the other in Erati where the story was being told. By coincidence both were given identical names: Mhammati and both, at different times, were recruited to the army.

When the one from Erati was recruited the other was already commander-in-chief at the headquarters in Nampula. Their coincidence of name was revealed when both responded to the same summoner. This event created friendship between them and Mhammati from Mampa-Khoma (hereafter: MM) invited the other Mhammati of Erati (hereafter: ME) to stay with him and to share his wife. No sooner had this happened than MM was demobbed inviting ME to visit him on completion of his own military duty.

In due course ME finished his service but instead of going to see his friends he returned to Erati where he found a job as a shopkeeper. As the region was hit by a severe famine his fellow clansmen went to the shop demanding to buy maize-flour on credit. ME refused credit and, instead, gave them flour at his own expense. Unsatisfied, they falsely accused him of embezzlement to his boss. He was tried and his chief clansman requested summary execution by firing squad. The boss, instead, cast ME adrift on the sea in a floating coffin. But his coffin was washed ashore and coincidentally discovered by his friends MM and his wife.

He then lived with them but soon after found a lady whose previous husbands had none of them survived the wedding night. The lady's father vowed one of his shops if ME were able to survive at least a night with his daughter. ME acting on instructions from his friend's wife (MM's wife) kept on smoking during the wedding night and as the lady was sleeping he saw a snake come out from her belly. He killed the snake and the following day his father-in-law rewarded him with a shop. He, then, became rich and his fellow-clansmen became ashamed of what they had done to him.

1.4 THE MODEL OF DESCRIPTION

The approach to linguistic description adopted in this work is eclectic, i.e., it attempts to give the most adequate description of e-Makhuwa rather than to conform strictly to any one model of description. We have taken from Halliday the terminology of different units on the scale of rank: sentence, clause, group, word and morpheme, each consisting of one or more instances of the unit next below, together with the concept of rank-shifting "whereby a unit may function within another of the same rank as itself, or of the rank next below" (Maw 1969:8).

In describing the morphology of the language we have largely made use of Guthrie's methodology and terminology. Guthrie distinguishes three major word categories: nominals, verbals and particles, according to the category of their lexical root, together with the categories of nomino-verbal, verbo-nominal and hybrid for certain regularly-formed deverbatives, denominatives and quasi-nominal forms.

He makes more detailed distinctions within these categories, always on the basis of paradigmatic behaviour and not of syntagmatic function. We have followed his general approach, but not always his terminology, preferring more traditional terms ~~where~~^{re} they can be used without misleading, provided that they are understood to apply to natural categories of e-Mákhwa and not the analogues of categories derived from other languages.

Guthrie's approach to the analysis of (sentence and) clause structure refers to syntagmatic "slots" which may be filled by members of a paradigmatic "substitution-class". One of these slots is the "nucleus" (Halliday's predicate), regarded by Guthrie as the irreducible core of the clause (1961:2) which may be true of initiating sentences but hardly of responses. (Guthrie explicitly limits himself to initiating contexts.) He says little about the internal structure of the group which he views as the expansion of a single noun or verb apart from the distinction of "primary" and "secondary" slots, which offer a rudimentary account of the phenomenon of rank-shifting. On the other hand his distinction of relationships between groups (Halliday's transitivity) is very delicate. He says little about relationships between clauses.

The description of Swahili by Dr. Maw (Maw 1969) following Halliday's model of language description gives a fuller account than Guthrie of relationships within the group as well as relationships between clauses. At these levels we have benefited from Dr. Maw's work, while at the level of relationships within the clause profited also from Guthrie's work. We have also been influenced by later writings on systemic grammar (Halliday 1981 and Hudson 1971)

etc.; this has led us on occasion to set out at least informally the network of systems operating at a particular point in structure; it has led us also to assign multiple functions to some units and has encouraged us to apply feature labels at the level of units higher on the rank scale in order to account more readily for associated restrictions in structure.

NOTES

1 - In a footnote, on p.67, Volume II, Sir Harry Johnston, 1922, puts: "The Makua dialects, owing to the slave trade with South Africa, early attracted the notice of philologists. The Dutch East Indian Company imported many Makua slaves from Moçambique into Cape Colony, and the British Government allowed the practice to continue for a few years after the British annexation of that region..." [1806/1814?].

2 - de Castro (1944) in his dedication of the "Catecismo Português - Emakúa" to other fellow missionaries of Nampula says: "...what has happened to you - [to be tricked by an interpreter] - has to me too". This shows clearly that it triggered in him the need for the study of the native language (e-Mákhwa).

2. THE PHONOLOGY OF e-Sáaka

2.1. THE CONSONANTAL SYSTEM

The consonantal system of e-Sáaka is set out in Table 2.1 (where marginal sounds are enclosed in parentheses).

There is an absence of voice as a distinctive feature in general and, within the occlusive consonants in particular, voice does not figure at all. Aspiration, however, is a distinctive feature in the occlusive series (1). There is also a post-alveolar-apical but not fully retroflex series contrasting with a lamino-dental series.

The absence of pre-nasalized consonants on the chart is due to the status of the pre-consonantal nasal, which in most cases appears to be syllabic. The existence of phonemic pre-nasalized consonants in e-Sáaka seems to be doubtful. There is, however, the peculiar case of opposition between /h/ and /h̃/ the latter being associated with nasalisation of preceding and following vowels.

Table 2.1. Chart of consonants

	Labial	Lamino-Dental	Alveolar	Apico-post-Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Occlusive	[Non-aspirate	p	t	t̪		k	
	Aspirate	ph	tʰ	t̪ʰ		kh	
	Affricate				c		
Non-occlusive	[Fricative	(f)*	s		(ʃ)*		h
		v					ɦ
Approximants	[Semi-vowels				y	w	
	Lateral		l				
	Rolled		r				
	Nasals	m	n		ɲ	(ŋ)*	

* See notes on next page.

*Footnotes to Table 2.1.

/f/ - apparently occurs in partially assimilated loans where it alternates with /ph/ before rounded vowels and /s/ before non-rounded vowels:

a) /f/ ~ /ph/ - V_{+} round

eg. /-fol-/ ~ /-phol-/ "to queue"

/-fut-/ ~ /-phut-/ "to clean dust"

b) /f/ ~ /s/ - V_{-} round

eg. /-fin-/ ~ /-sin-/ "to hurt someone"

/-fiŋ-/ ~ /-siŋ-/ "to rape"

/ofya/ ~ /osya/ "burnt bush"

/s/ - is in free variation with /s/; no complementary distribution has so far been found. Thus /s/ is used throughout.

/ŋ/ - is marginal, occurring only in ideophones and the like.

eg. /-ŋoŋ-/ "to snore"

/-niŋin-/ "peck and extract millet seeds
(birds)."

/ŋaŋáali/ "slow-moving insect"

/niŋóŋolo/ "kind of bee"

2.1.1. Transcription

For convenience the aspirate/non-aspirate distinction is indicated by the combining of the element in question with h: ph/p. The dental/post-alveolar distinction in this chapter only is indicated t/t' elsewhere we follow Mozambican practice (Emakhuwa-makhuwana 1973) in marking the post-alveolar series by doubling: tt. This is a pure convention and does not suggest any distinction of gemination or timing. The palatal nasal ɲ will be represented by the digraph ny and the nasalised glottal ñ by nh. Syllabic nasals may be indicated by a following apostrophe if they precede semi-vowels.

2.1.2. Phonological contrast of the consonants

Phonological contrasts in C₁ and C₂ positions are exemplified in the following tables.

Table 2.2. Aspirate/non-aspirate

	C ₁		C ₂	
Labial:	-phak-	"befriend"	-laph-	"curse"
	-pak-	"do/make"	-lap-	"pray"
Dental:	-thek-	"peel"	-lath-	"hit with arrow"
	-tek-	"build"	-lat-	"lick"
Post-Alveolar:	-t'hap-	"dance for joy"	-t'oth-	"sew"
	-tap-	"over cook"	-tot-	"find by chance"
Velar:	-khom-	"blow"	-akh-	"take off from somebody"
	-kom-	"hit with hammer"	-ak-	"make a hole in a wood"

Table 2.3. Dental/Post-alveolar/Palatal

-tek-	"build"	-lat-	"lick"
-t̥ek-	"open (umbrella)"	-lat̥-	"resemble"
-thek-	"peel"	-tath-	"shake from a tree"
-t̥hek-	"be guilty"	-t̥ath-	"jump from one branch to another"
-t̥hap-	"dance for joy"	pat̥h-	"acquire"
-cap-	"puff"	-pac-	"provoke"
-toos-	"bury"	-at̥-	"hit"
-coos-	"sore"	-ac-	"make reference to"

Table 2.4. Occlusive/fricative

-phar-	"strand"	-op-	"play drum"
-var-	"hold"	-ov-	"fear"
-cam-	"sink"	-pac-	"provoke"
-sam-	"be proud"	-pas-	"pack luggage"
-khom-	"blow"	-kokh-	"stretch"
-hom-	"pierce"	-koh-	"ask"

Table 2.5 Approximants: lateral/rolled

-rap-	"bathe"	-mar-	"plaster"
-lap-	"pray"	-mal-	"finish"

Table 2.6 Semi-vowels/fricative or affricate

-yar-	"bear"	-ay-	"be ready"
-car-	"be full"	-ac-	"make reference to"
-war-	"dress"	-law-	"enjoy"
-var-	"hold"	-lav-	"to break a taboo"

Table 2.7 Nasal series/non-nasal series

-man-	"make fall down"	-am-	"squeeze"
-pan-	"fold the sleeves"	-ap-	"whisper"
-nun-	"be greasy"	-von-	"be cured"
-run-	"deny"	-vor-	"become calm"
-ɲakel-	"step over"	-peɲ-	"escape"
-cakhel-	"jump onto"	-pic-	"delay"

Table 2.8. Glottal nasal/Glottal non-nasal

-nhan-	"forge (blacksmith)	-unh-	"cut down bush"
-hal-	"remain"	-puh-	"live comfortably"

2.1.3. Consonantal sequence

There are certain constraints on the choice of consonants in successive syllables at least within the lexeme. Thus, while there are found sequences such as: -asp...-asp. (tek-), -asp...+asp. (-tath-), +asp...-asp. (-that-), the sequence +asp...+asp. is not found, although it may occur accross morpheme boundaries.

eg. Kha- \int hunale "he did not want"

In some circumstances this leads to the de-aspiration of plosives,

eg. -phwea "to get broken" but -pwes- "break".

-khum- "come out" but -kumih- "take out".

This is probably a regular morpho-phonemic process but the rules have not been investigated yet.

2.1.3.1. Pre-consonantal nasals

Some grammatical morphemes have allomorphs consisting of or terminating in a nasal represented here by N. This nasal is regularly homorganic with the following consonant and normally syllabic.

Certain further morphophonemic changes are noted below. The following morphemes are involved:

a) Class 1 prefix: mu- }
Class 3 prefix: mu- } $\rightarrow N/ ___ C$

b) Class 5 prefix: ni $\rightarrow N/ [C_{+coronal}]$

c) Object prefix Class 1: mu $\rightarrow N/ ___ C$

d) Tense markers such as: -no- $\rightarrow N$
 -aánó- $\rightarrow aáN-$
 -aáná- $\rightarrow aáN-$ / $___ C$

This assimilation may be illustrated as follows:

- eg. {mu-péwe} → /mpéwe/ "king"
 {mu-cáko} → /ɲ cáko/ "belt"
 {mu-kóle} → /ɲ kóle/ "coconut tree".

There is, however, one case where the N may or may not assimilate to the point of articulation of the following consonant and that is when it occurs before lamino-dental consonants.

- eg. {mu-téko} → /mtéko/ ~ /nteko/ "work"
 {mu-théli} → /mthéli/ ~ /nthéli/ "bridegroom".

There are also cases in which consonants are affected by a preceding nasal:

- a) /v/ → m/N___. (N in this case is in free variation with the unreduced allomorphs:

- eg. -var- "hold"
 {ki-N-vár-a} → /kimmára/ (~{ki-no-vár-a}) "I am holding..."
 {N-vári} → /mmári/ (~{mu-vári}) "holder"
 {N-váre} → /mmáre/ (~{mu-váre}) "hold him".

The distinction between /m/ and /v/ is thus neutralised in this environment.

- cf. -már- "plaster"
 {ki-N-már-a} → /kimmára/ (~{ki-no-már-a}) "I am plastering"
 {N-mári} → /mmári/ (~{mu-vári}) "plasterer".

b) /r/ → dr /N__.

eg. {mu-rama} → /muráma/ ~ /ṛráma/ → [ndráma] "cooked rice"
 {mu-rólo} → /murólo/ ~ /ṛrólo/ → [ndrólo] "foetus"

The sequence of the pre-consonant N and the rolled /r/ creates a transitional sound between the N and the /r/.

c) /y/ → ɲ /N__.

eg. -yar- "give birth" or "bear"

{mu-yári} → /mujari/ ~ /ɲári/ "bearer"

cf. {mu-nyáli} → /ɲáli/ "clumsy person"

The distinction between /y/ and /ɲ/ is thus neutralised in this environment.

d) /w/ - mw /N__.

eg. -war- "dress"

{mu-wári} → /mmwári/ ~ /muwári/ "he who gets dressed"

cf. -mwar- "spread"

{mu-mwári} → /mmwári/ ~ /mumwári/ "he who spreads"

Thus at surface level the distinction between /w/ and mw cluster is neutralised when both are preceded by N.

e) -ALE tense form → NCe

A similar phonological process takes place in the formation of allomorphs of the tense -ALE where a syllabic nasal is intruded before the final consonant of radicals of at least one syllable. In this case the regressive assimilation of /v/ → m/N__, /w/ → mw/N__ does

not occur but follows the patterns below:

Nv → nv

eg. -liv- "pay": kilinvé (≈kilivalé) "I paid"

Nm → mn

eg. -lim- "cultivate": kilimé (≈kilimalé) "I cultivated"

etc.

2.1.3.2. Nasal onset of final consonant

There is a considerable regional and individual variation between an oral and a pre-nasalized realization of the final consonant in e-Sáaka. For example we may compare the following forms recorded in two e-Sáaka speaking areas:

O-Cihúri (Chiúre)	O-tinepa (Erati)	
ni-kháka	ni-khaŋka	"dried cassava"
n-ťéŋka	n-ťéka	"feather"
i-nyáka	i-nyáka	"horns"
e-nyáŋka	e-nyáka	"lethal medicine"

The last two examples show a specialisation of meaning associated with the nasal alternation, and therefore phonemic contrast, but variation is very free and the contrast carries a very low functional load.

2.1.3.3. Consonant semi-vowel clusters

We have made the following limited observations of consonant clustering in e-Sáaka:

a) /w/ occurs after bilabials and after velar occlusives:

eg. -pwah- "surpass" -phwat- "cut with machete"

cf. -pah- "burn" cf. -phat- "throw down"

-kwat- "touch with hands" -khwer- "scratch with something"

cf. -kat- "walk aimlessly" cf. -kher- "make a hole in wood"

-amw- "suck"

cf. -am- "squeeze".

b) /y/ occurs after /r/

eg. -wury- "drink"

cf. -wur- "stretch"

One example has been found after /v/ and /l/:

-vy- "become burnt"

-ly- "eat"

Not seldom, however, we hesitate in transcribing certain sequences between /ea/ and /ya/ or between /oa/ and /wa/. For example, othelea "to be marriageable" is commonly heard as othelyaa (but is distinct from otheliya "to be married"). Similarly we find wuntea "to be

breakable" alternating with wuntyaa, and oroa (orowa ?) "go"
alternating with orwaa.

We have preferred transcriptions ea and oa, as these are the predominant realisations in the dialect under study. The alternative transcriptions ya and wa would obscure the generalisation made above concerning constraints on the sequence of consonant and semi-vowel within a lexeme. (One possible treatment would have been to regard e-Sáaka as having four ultra-short (semi-)vowels corresponding to i, e, o and u). These sequences are distinguished from normal sequences of uncontracted vowels, which are transcribed VwV or VyV (see section 2.2.3.).

2.2. THE VOWEL SYSTEM

The e-Sáaka vowel system consists of 5 phonologically contrastive vowels which may be represented as follows:

	Front	Back
High	i	u
Mid	e	o
Low	a	

eg. -lak-	"give instructions"	-al-	"sow"
-lek-	"loosen"	-el-	"have light skin"
-lik-	"aim/measure"	-il-	"darken"
-lok-	"be good"	-ol-	"credit"
-luk-	"salt"	-ul-	"pass through initiation rites"

m-rúpa "bag"

rúpe "kind of animal"

m-rúpi "he who sleeps"

m-rupo "tripe"

n-nípu "kind of tree"

This system is fully contrastive in the radical and final positions but in initial positions only 3 vowels contrast phonemically: /i/, /a/, /u/, or /e/, /a/, /o/ according to dialect. E-Sáaka uses the latter realisation.

There are, however, grammatical distinctions such as the opposition between singular and plural of the nouns in classes 7 and 8 which are conventionally distinguished by the orthographic opposition e/i:

eg. e-nupa "a house"

i-nupa "houses"

although there is no (remaining) phonological justification for this contrast.

2.2.1. Vowel nasality

Our observations and intuitions lead us to conclude that there are no phonemic nasal vowels though allophonically they may be nasalised in very limited environments:

a) following and/or preceding a nasalised glottal /h/:

e.g. e-háanha	[eháãha]	"millet porridge"
mw-ánha	[mwãha]	"conversation"
wa-ánh-a	[waãha]	"be sour"

b) after a palatal nasal /ɲ/:

eg. ó-ny-a [óɲa] "defecate"
 o-nyóony-a[ɔɲóɔɲa] "be bothersome/boring"

c) in extra-systemic expressions such as interjections and the like:

eg. aáàn [àâ:] "yes"
 úuún [úʔũ:] "no"

2.2.2. Vowel quantity

The analysis of vowel quantity remains tentative. Nevertheless, observations of the data lead us to the following preliminary conclusions:

a) the vowel length is distinctive within lexical morphemes in e-Sáaka:

eg. -mal-	"finish"	-maal-	"be silent"
-rul-	"undress"	-ruul-	"take off the water"
e-síri	"wall"	e-síri	"secret"

b) a long vowel within a morpheme is not distinguishable on the surface from a long vowel which is the product of a sequence of vowels belonging to different morphemes.

eg. maáma "mother"
 ma-áci "water"

If we posit a mora as a unit of length such that a short vowel (as in -mal- "finish") is one unit and a long vowel (as in -maal- "be silent") is two units, then there is an upper limit to length which does not go beyond two morae. For instance:

ki-ho-ón-a → ki-h-oon-a "I have seen"

is not distinguished from:

ki-ho-á-ón-a → ki-h-(ó)oon-a → ki-h-oon-a "I have seen them"
 1 2 3 1 23

except in tone.

c) lengthening is not fully predictable for there are cases of vowel sequence whereby neither lengthening nor syllabic reduction does take place. For instance, high vowels usually become semi-vowels before other vowels and provoke lengthening of the vowel in question:

eg. mu-ana → mw-aána "child"

mi-eri → my-eéri "months"

but such a phenomenon of lengthening does not take place in the following examples:

mu-étto → mw-étto "leg"

mu-átto → mw-átto "lion"

mi-ála → my-ála "mountain rocks"

There are some cases where adjacent vowels of different morphemes do not fuse; it seems best to imagine a "zero consonant" characterising the transition; in practice we have represented such transitions with an interpolated y or w:

eg. ki-na-_Λ-ál-a → ki-ná-w-áál-a "I sow"

ya-_Λ-aka → yá-w-aka "mine"

e-_Λ-olya → e-y-oólya "food"

2.2.3. The treatment of contiguous vowels

When two vowels come together at a morpheme boundary there are at least three possible vowel transformations:

a) They may remain distinct and as we have already exemplified in

2.2.2.C) a zero consonant is imagined in between.

b) They may fuse, ie be subject to processes of assimilation resulting in a long vowel or semi-vowel+vowel sequence. The outcome of the processes of assimilation is as follows:

- if the first vowel of a sequence is low the outcome is a mid-long vowel. One might, perhaps, formulate this as:

$$\left[\begin{array}{c} \text{V}_{+low} \end{array} \right] + \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{V}_{-low} \\ \alpha \text{ back} \end{array} \right] \rightarrow \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{V}_{+long} \\ -low \\ -high \\ \alpha \text{ back} \end{array} \right]$$

eg. ma-íno → /meéno/ "teeth"

ma-úme → /moóme/ "frogs";

-if the first of a vowel sequence is high it becomes devocalised and the second vowel lengthened.

eg. mu-ápu → /mwaápu/ "pot"

mi-eri → /myeéri/ "moons/months"

c) The first vowel may either be elided and the following become lengthened:

eg. ni-úme → /nuúme/ "a frog"

mu-óro → /moóro/ "fire"

or one of the vowels be elided without trace.

eg. mu-ana aka → /mwaná'ka/ "my child"

y'eele eweelo aya . ele → y'eele'weél'ayééle "On his coming"

(where the apostrophe represents elision and the tie-mark assimilation).

We have not attempted to formulate rules predicting in which of these ways contiguous vowels will be treated in every case, although we believe the treatment to be predictable.

There are a number of alternate constructions in e-Mákhwa which lend themselves to interpretation as arising through the loss of a syllable or syllables:

eg. ki-no-phávéla ~ ki-no-phéela "I want"
 ki-no-phavela o-lima ~ ki-no-phóolima "I want to cultivate"

2.3. THE SYLLABLE

The syllabic core in e-Saaka may be either a vowel or a syllabic nasal (2); the syllabic nasal may well derive from an underlying nasal + vowel sequence, as syllabic nasal and nasal + vowel sequence frequently appear as allomorphs of a single morpheme. Syllables with vocalic cores may optionally be preceded by a consonant and/or semi-vowel (see 2.1.4.3). Long vowels may be regarded for tonological purposes as two vowels in sequence.

NOTES

1 - There is reported to be a common tendency in Eastern Bantu languages such as se-Sotho, se-Tswana S.30, Southern Dhaigw E.50, Luhya E.30, to reduce or eliminate the contrast voiced/voiceless as a distinctive feature, the se-Sotho being the closest case to that of e-Mákhwa. Suggestions have been made that in Proto-Bantu voice was accompanied by further differentiations such as: aspirate stop/voiced fricative: ph/β (P Bennett, 1980 p.c.).

2 - C Ceng and Kisseberth (1982) similarly establish that "there are two classes of tone-bearing units in Makua: vowels and pre-consonantal nasals".

3. THE TONAL SYSTEM OF e-Sáaka

Linguists dealing with Eastern Bantu languages agree that no lexical tone contrast is found in e-Mákhúwa. Indeed, though Whiteley (1964) (1) and Guthrie (1971) (2) do not seem to have analysed the tone system in e-Mákhúwa deeply, nevertheless, they both conclude that there is no lexical tone distinctiveness in e-Mákhúwa.

Recent studies carried out by Cheng and Kisseberth (1979 - 81) on two dialects spoken in South Tanzania, show no great divergence, though Cheng and Kisseberth's study has the merit of being more thorough than the previous ones. In one of the dialects they studied (Imithupi) they claim "limited tonal contrasts at the lexical level [within] noun stems" but the examples appear to us unsatisfactory (3).

This chapter enquires as to whether we can set up a system of surface tone realizations which are generated by suprasegmental features significant at the lexical level and attempts to establish and formulate rules to account for such surface realisations; the chapter closes with a consideration of surface tone patterns in the noun, as to whether there exists tonal contrasts at all.

3.1. TONE IN THE e-Sáaka WORD

Every noun, including the infinitive (cl.15) in e-Sáaka displays on at least one of its syllables at surface level a high tone which may or may not correspond to an underlying high tone depending upon the context. Before attempting to analyse such a context (or contexts) we may make certain observations regarding the incidence of high tone

It is apparent that the high tones on the second and fourth syllables of the root have a different status from those on the first and the third: the second syllable does not manifest a high tone if preceded by two high tones and a high tone never appears on the second or fourth syllables unless there are two further syllables remaining in the word.

On the basis of these observations we posit that certain syllables are underlyingly high-toned (H) and others underlyingly neutral (N). Leaving aside the asyllabic radicals (such as ó-ly-a), the first radical syllable and (for radicals of four or more syllables), the third syllable of the infinitives are underlyingly high-toned. These high tones are, however, not lexically significant; for all members of the verb category they are predictable and generated by a redundancy rule.

In the examples which follow, we have adopted conventions which simultaneously indicate the surface tone and the underlying tonality that has been posited, using conventions first suggested by Meissen ^{Le} (1963). Surface high tone is indicated by an acute accent (') and surface low is left unmarked. Underlying high syllables are underlined. Original (H) syllables neutralised to (N) by a subsequent rule (neutralisation rule) have a dot underneath. The distinctions serve to differentiate the posited rules by which the surface tones of each syllable have been generated. For details and other abbreviations see Table 3.1.

Table 3.1. Abbreviations and conventions

N	underlying neutral
H	underlying high
—	underlying high
()	underlying neutral
.	neutralised underlying high
h, '	surface high tone
l, ()	surface low tone
#	final word or tone-group boundary
	non-final word boundary
C, V	consonant, vowel
x	syllable
X ₁ , X ₂	first and second syllable of the radical or stem (similarly C ₁ , V ₁ , H ₁ , N ₁ etc).
Δ	grammatical trigger for neutralisation of following underlying high.
⌋	tie-mark expressing cross boundary assimilation
'	apostrophe expressing elision.

Phonological Rules

- (1) $A \rightarrow B/C_D$
(A becomes B when it occurs between C and D)
- (2) $\{ \dots * \dots \}$
As components of phonological rule, the elements in the brace are repeated indefinitely, including at least once the element preceding the star, i.e. $\{ \dots * \}$ implies at least once, $\{ * \dots \}$ implies that the element is wholly optional.
- (3) VV represents a sequence of vowels and not a single long vowel.

3.1.1. High tone assignment rule

From what we have observed about the high tone position in the infinitives, a rule can be formulated (high tone assignment) according to which, given any cl. 15 (infinitive) form (with the exception of asyllabic radicals) the first and the third syllables of the radical have an underlying high tone. Thus,

$$\text{Rule 1.} \quad \begin{array}{ll} \text{a. } N_1 \rightarrow H_1 / __\text{X} & \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{Cl. 15 rad.} \\ - \text{ asyll. rad.} \end{array} \right] \\ \text{b. } N_3 \rightarrow H_3 / __\text{X} & \end{array}$$

C Cheng and Kisseberth call such a rule ITA (infinitive tone assignment); it was found to be operative in both dialects they studied.

The case of asyllabic radicals is further discussed in 3.2.2.

3.1.2. Surface manifestation rule

Following the tone assignment rule stated in 3.1.1. and assuming a correlation of underlying high and surface high we might expect infinitives to have high tones on the first (and, where applicable, third) syllables and low tones elsewhere. This clearly conflicts with some examples already cited and requires further qualification, but for the moment we may state a realization rule:

$$\text{Rule 2.} \quad \begin{array}{ll} \text{a. } H \rightarrow h \\ \text{b. } N \rightarrow l \end{array}$$

leaving the necessary adjustment to further rules.

3.1.3. Neutralization rule

We now consider some non-extended infinitives with an infix object pronoun -ki- (first person singular):

- (3) o-kí-we-a "to take me"
 o-kí-rum-a "to send me"
 o-kó-on-a "to see me"

We infer that -ki- is underlyingly high (to account for its surface high realization) but observe that the following syllable is no longer high on the surface. To account for this we posit a neutralization rule, according to which any sequence of underlying high tones is reduced to a single high-toned followed by neutral tones, thus:

Rule 3. $\{H * \} \rightarrow N/H \underline{\quad}$

(where the asterisk implies "repeated one or more times").

We may now rewrite our examples above to show the posited underlying tones:

- (4) o-kí-we-a
 o-kí-rum-a
 o-kó-on-a

To demonstrate the operation of this rule on longer sequences of underlying high tones we may take examples with further infix elements:

- (5) o-hí-rum-a "not to send"
 o-hí-kí-rum-a "not to send me"

The second surface high tone in o-hí-kí-rum-a results from a further rule discussed in 3.2. Rule 3 can then be seen as a cyclic rule operating from right to left and can be amended:

Rule 3: $\{H^*\} \rightarrow N/H___ \text{ (cyclic)}$

3.2. HIGH TONE DOUBLING RULE

We have seen that an underlying high tone is not always realized high at the surface level as rule 2a predicts. The same applies to underlying neutral syllables, i.e. sometimes an underlying neutral syllable can be realized as high at the surface. For example:

- (6a) o-lím-a "to cultivate"
 (6b) o-límel-a "to cultivate" (appl.)
 (6c) o-límélíh-a "to cultivate" (appl. caus.)
 (6d) o-límélíhan-a "to cultivate" (appl. caus. recip.)
 (6e) o-límélíhánac-a "to cultivate" (appl. caus. recip. coll.)
 (6f) o-límélíhánacer-a "to cultivate" (appl. caus. recip. coll. ben.)

The high tones on the first and third root syllables are predicted by the high tone assignment rule (3.1.1.); the high tones on the second syllables (ex: 6e - 6f) are explained by another rule according to which an underlying high tone doubles on to a following neutral syllable provided that there are at least two syllables left in the

word or tone group (5).

Rule 4: $N \rightarrow h/H ___ XX$

Note that this rule is not cyclic, that is a syllable that has received a doubled high tone does not in turn double its high tone on to the following syllable.

Examples of how the doubling rule operates in the case of a sequence of two or more underlying high tones can be demonstrated in the derivations below, where we insert a negative marker, diminutive marker and object pronoun (1st p. sg.) all of them underlyingly high-toned (the rule numbers refer to the order they have been introduced in the text, not the way they operate):

- (7a) Rule: 0 - *o-hi-si-ki-lum-a "to not bite me a little"
- 1 - *o-hi-si-ki-lum-a (tone assignment rule)
 - 3 - *o-hi-si-ki-lum-a (neutralization rule)
 - 2 - *o-hi-si-ki-lum-a (surface manifestation rule)
 - 4 - o-hi-si-ki-lum-a (doubling rule)
- (7b) Rule: 0 - *o-hi-si-ki-lumel-a "to not bite a little for me"
- 1 - *o-hi-si-ki-lumel-a (tone assignment rule)
 - 3 - *o-hi-si-ki-lumel-a (neutralization rule)
 - 2 - *o-hi-si-ki-lumel-a (surface manifestation rule)
 - 4 - o-hi-si-ki-lumel-a (doubling rule)

- (7c)Rule 0 - *o-hi-si-ki-lumelih-a "to not make me bite a little for somebody"
- 1 - *o-hi-si-ki-lumelih-a (tone assignment rule)
- 3 - *o-hi-si-ki-lumelih-a (neutralization rule)
- 2 - *o-hi-si-ki-lumelih-a (surface manifestation rule)
- 4 - o-lú-sí-ki-lumelih-a (doubling rule)
-
- (7d)Rule 0 - *o-hi-si-ki-lumelihanacer-a "to not reciprocally make me bite a little for them all"
- 1 - *o-hi-si-ki-lumelihanacer-a (tone assignment rule)
- 3 - *o-hi-si-ki-lumelihanacer-a (neutraliz. rule)
- 2 - *o-hi-si-ki-lumelihanacer-a (surface manif. rule)
- 4 - o-hi-sí-ki-lumelihanacer-a (doubling rule)

3.2.1 Doubling rule and syntactic boundary

If we put an expressed object after the infinitive, we find that doubling takes place exactly as on plurisyllabic radicals.

- (8) o-lím-a# vs. o-lím-'| é-mátta# "to cultivate a farm"
- vs. o-lím-á|n-tthóce# "to cultivate cotton"
-
- o-rúm-a# vs. o-rúm-'| é-póttha# "to send a slave"

The doubling that is inhibited in the isolated infinitives takes place and it may be manifested accross the word boundary where elision occurs. Doubling rule operates, therefore, within the tone group rather than within the word. We have defined the word boundary symbol as | (in non-final position) and as # in final position where it coincides with the boundary of a tone group. Hence, tone realisation

in final position or in isolation will be followed by #; and in non-final position it will be followed by the symbol | :

- (9)
- | | |
|-------------------------|-----------------------|
| o-lím-a # | o-lím-á |
| o-límélíhánacer-a # | - |
| kinááphável-a o-lím-a # | o-lím- é-mátta # |
| "I want to cultivate" | "to cultivate a farm" |

3.3. UNDERLYING HIGH RETRACTION RULE (IN ASYLLABIC RADICALS)

We come now to the case of asyllabic nomino-verbal radicals deferred earlier. We may contrast:

- | | |
|-----------------------------|-------------------|
| (10a) | with (10b) |
| o-lím-a# "to cultivate" | ó-w-a# "to come" |
| o-lúm-a# "to bite" | ó-ly-a# "to eat" |
| o-rúm-a# "to send somebody" | ó-khw-a# "to die" |
| o-váh-a# "to give" | ó-vy-a# "to burn" |

where the surface high tone and by implication the underlying high tone fall on the prefix syllable in 10b. This analysis is confirmed if we follow the infinitive by an expressed object:

- | | |
|---------------|---------------------------|
| ó-ly- é-síma | "to eat maize flour food" |
|---------------|---------------------------|

It is necessary, therefore, to posit a retraction rule modifying the high tone assignment rule 1 where it would put a high tone on the final syllable.

underlying high on the first, and where appropriate the third, syllable. We can confirm this analysis by following these words with a numeral and observing whether doubling takes place within the resulting phrase such as

- | | |
|---|------------------|
| (12) m-lí ^h mí ^h mmoca# | "one cultivator" |
| m ^h -pá ^h lá ^h pá ^h ttá ^h ni-moca# | "one horn" |
| e-pú ^h rí ^h 'l -moca# | "one goat" |

The outcome is:

- a) Doubling takes place on the shorter nouns, confirming that there is an underlying high tone on the first syllable.
- b) Doubling on the fourth syllable on the longer nouns confirms that the third syllable is underlyingly high.

Some nouns, however, do not conform to this tone pattern, having surface high tone on the second stem syllable, or only on the third stem syllable. The group of nouns which matches the infinitive tone system constitutes the major group in e-Sáaka and includes nouns of all classes. The minor groups which do not match the infinitives are mostly loan-words, and found only in class 7. For example:

- | | |
|----------------------------|-----------------------------|
| (13) e-kaá ^h ro | "car" (Portuguese: carro) |
| e-safá ^h ri | "journey" (Swahili: safari) |
| e-sikó ^h la | "school" (Port.: escola) |
| e-keré ^h ca | "church" (Port.: igreja) |
| e-hisí ^h ma | "respect" (Swahili<Arabic) |

where H replaces penultimate stress in the donor language after lengthening of the vowel in case of disyllabic loan-words. One can support underlying high corresponding to the surface (h) tone in these words by putting a numeral after them such as in

- | | |
|--------------------|------------------------|
| (14) e-kaáró piili | "two cars" |
| e-sikó'lá piili | "two school buildings" |
| e-safá'í piili | "two journeys" |

This suggests that the tone assignment rule either must be expanded or must have an exception to account for loan-words, for as one can observe, the output in (14) shows that doubling operates normally.

3.4.1. Monosyllabic noun stems

As in the asyllabic verbal radicals underlying high tone retraction occurs in the monosyllabic nominal stems. Examples such as

- | | |
|---------|-------------|
| ín-tthu | "person" |
| é-pwi | "grey hair" |

support the contention that high tone never occurs in the last syllable either of infinitives or of nouns.

3.5. HIGH TONE NEUTRALISATION IN RESTRICTED SYNTACTIC ENVIRONMENTS

In certain restricted syntactic environments such as nominal predicative or focusing constructions (5.4.2.1) we may observe a neutralisation of underlying highs:

(15a) Non-predicative:

o-lím-a# "to cultivate"

m-tthu# "person"

o-límélíh-a#

"to cultivate (app. caus.)"

(15b) Predicative:

o-lím-a# "it is to cultivate"

m-tthu# "it is a person"

o-límélíh-a# "it is to cultivate"

and if we observe a noun in

(15c) non-focusing (strong-
tenses):

ki-náá-phávé-l-a_o-lím-a#

"I want to cultivate"

(15d) focusing (weak tenses):

ki-no-phávé-l-a_o-lím-a#

"I want to cultivate (nothing else)"

ki-náá-phávé-l-a_o-lím-'|émáttá# ki-no-phávé-l-a_o-lím-'|émáttá#

"I want to cultivate a farm"

"I want to cultivate a farm

(nothing else)"

These constructions (which we here symbolize Δ) (6) affect the first underlying high tone of the word, no matter what is its position in the phrase. We may, therefore, presume that there is an interaction between tone and syntactic structure, focusing constructions and nominal predication being some of examples the rule of which might be formulated as follows:

$$H \rightarrow N/\Delta \{ *N \} \underline{\quad}$$

(For distinction between strong and weak tenses see 5.4.2.1).

3.6. WORD TONE PATTERNS AND THE ROLE OF TONE

3.6.1. Is tone lexically distinctive?

Given a noun of -CVCVCV or more length, it can not be predicted what the underlying tone-pattern will be. Although it has been suggested above that high tone assignment rule should be expanded in order to account for loan-words, for the present argument it is irrelevant. There are no underlying conditioning factors within the language which account for all possible patterns, hence the potential for contrast does exist. Shorter nouns display no such potential, and this may be what Cheng and Kisseberth mean by "limited distinctiveness" (3).

3.6.2. The grammatical function of tone

The grammatical function of tone has been briefly illustrated by the examples under section 3.5. Within the bounds of the present study it is impossible to do more than touch on the subject, but the present writer is aware of a number of further grammatical conditions which trigger tone-pattern variations (6).

NOTES

1 - Whiteley 1964 states that all Tanganyika's Bantu languages are tonal with the exception of Swahili, Makua and perhaps one or two others". It seems that he uses the criterion of minimal pair contrast in order to define a tone language, enquiring whether "numbers of words are distinguished from one another by their tone-patterns".

2 - Guthrie's conclusion 1971 is brief and succinct: "there is no lexical tone distinctiveness in Makua". This suggests that if e-Makhuwa is in some sense a tone language it is not by the criterion of minimal contrast used by Whiteley. Nevertheless, Carter 1983 quotes Guthrie's (1954) distinctions as: "languages in which the tunes belong to the whole sentence (intonational languages) and languages in which pitch patterns belong to segments (tone-languages)". He further distinguished two types of tone-languages:

- "a) where the tone of any given syllable is an integral part of it and
- b) where the words have no fixed tone-pattern out of context."

3 - Cheng and Kisseberth's (1979 - 81) study of the tonology of the two Makua dialects spoken in South Tanzania constitutes a detailed description of some aspects of the tone system in e-Makhuwa. They claim that "noun stems exhibit restricted tonal contrasts at the lexical level in the Ikorovere dialect but rather more extensive (though still limited) contrasts in Imithupi dialect; (...)"

However, the examples which have been provided do not show clearly that there is tone contrast at the lexical level, for (though one need not have minimal pairs to determine tonal contrast in a given language)

the tonal difference between the two groups of the items seems to have nothing to do with lexical contrast but is rather correlated with potential structural difference of the items (vowel length and the like):

<u>Imithupi:</u>	havára	"leopard"	á-hávára	(pl)
	marápi	"frog"	á-marápi	(pl)
	vs			
	⁽⁻⁾ húkula	"hare"	á-húkúla	(pl)
	⁽⁻⁾ thúpili	"monkey"	á-thúpíli	(pl)

The fundamental rules such as doubling rule and retraction rule which Cheng and Kisseberth found and defined in the dialects they studied, are also observable in e-Sáaka dialect. Similar doubling rules are found in Shona (H Carter, p.c.) and ChiChewa (S. Mchombo).

4 - C Cheng and Kisseberth (1982) discuss at length the nature of a pre-consonantal nasal as a tone-bearing unit. They argue that "there are two classes of tone-bearing units in Makua: vowels and pre-consonantal nasals", and because "not all pre-consonantal nasals are tone-bearing (...) it is not possible to predict in all cases which ones are tone-bearing and which ones are not". Due to the complexity of the matter and for the purposes of our analysis we still regard some nasals as potential tone-bearing units i.e. as syllables. Not all "pre-consonantal" nasals are syllabic, but all syllabic nasals are pre-consonantal.

Compare:

- (1) m-kóntta "piece of cloth used by man"
- (2) mu-ńtta "bag full of something"

(where 2 is syllabic and 1 is not).

5 - S A Mchombo and F Moto (1980) discuss two tone rules in ChiChewa and from page 5, section 2.1. state: "the rule of tone doubling can be stated as one that raises a low-toned syllable when that syllable is preceded by one with an underlying high (...) we shall maintain (...) that tone doubling applies when at least two syllables follow the tone receiving syllables". H. Carter (1983 p.c.) adds that "the syllables must be in the same syntactic group".

6 - Welmers' (1959) definition of a tone language as one in "which both pitch phonemes and segmental phonemes enter into the composition of atleast some morphemes" seems to include the case of e-Mákhúwa (e-Sáaka) for his definition includes grammatical processes in e-Sáaka in which tone is involved.

4. THE MORPHOLOGY OF THE NOUN IN e-Sáaka

The noun in e-Sáaka (as in any Bantu language) is made from a prefix and the nominal stem. A group of nouns displaying the same concord prefix are said to belong to the same class. A class of noun is not identifiable solely by its prefix in isolation, as nouns of different classes can have the same prefix in isolation, and besides there are some nouns which are prefixless in isolation. Rather, a class consists of a group of nouns controlling a similar pattern of agreement in dependent words such as adjectives, demonstratives etc. Normally the classes are organised in pairs, one singular and the other corresponding to plural.

4.1. THE NOUN CLASS PREFIX AND ITS ALLOMORPHS

Leaving aside, for the moment, the so-called locative classes on the basis of our definition of class, e-Sáaka nouns display only nine types of concord patterns, including the class of infinitives. We have, therefore, nine grammatical classes the morphemes and allomorphs of which are set out in Table 4.1.

Examples illustrating our descriptive analysis will be indicated by a serial number. This number consists of:

- number of the example (followed by a colon)
- text number from which the example is taken (No. 15 is the text sample number in the appendix where most examples are taken from)
- number of the line of text from which the example is taken.

Examples provided by the writer will have an asterisk in place of the reference number, e.g.

(15:15.45) = Example 15, text 15, line 45.
 (16:*) = Example 16, self provided.

There will also be examples which have no reference. Most of such examples come from the data already analysed and from our notes on elicited examples.

Table 4.1. The noun class prefix

In the table, the principal noun-class prefix morphemes are given in the second column with their phonologically conditioned allomorphs in the third column. The classes are numbered in the first column, using numbers that correspond as closely as possible to the reconstructed class-system of Proto-Bantu (referred to in notes in the final column) following the established practice in Bantu studies. In cases where nouns control the same concords in dependent words but display wholly different prefixes which are lexically determined rather than phonologically conditioned, we have used the same class number in the first column but with the standard prefix {mu-} which controls the same agreements as subclass 1a with zero prefix and the diminutive subclass 1b with the prefix {mwa-}. */alphabetic suffix e.g.*

Class	Morphemes	Allomorphs	Examples	Gloss	Notes
	'Lexically Selected'	'Phonologically Selected'			
1	mu-	N/___C	h-tthu m-múci	person fellow clansman	1) -CB 1 *mu-
		mwa/___ [V -round]	mwa-ána mwi-íni	child dancer	
		mo/___ [o]	mo-ópi mo-óthi	(drum) player liar	
		mu/___ [N u]	mu-ána mu-úpi	sib of same sex moulder	
1a	Ø___	Ø___	-khóle -nakhúwo ewúcu	monkey maize tortoise	2) includes nouns compounded with "na" and nouns with pseudo-prefix in sg.
1b	mwa___	mwa ¹ +___	mwaá-m-muci mwaá+nakhúwo mwaá+m-kole	little fellow clansman small maize small coconut tree	3) diminutive prefix (see 4.2)
2	a___	a/___ [C a] ¹	a-ána a-múci	children fellow clansmen	4) CB 2 *ba-
		o/___ [u o] ¹	o-ópi o-ópi	players moulders	
		e/___ [i e] ¹	e-éni e-étti	dancers friends sib dif. sex	
2a	á___	é/___ [i e] ¹	é-é+wúcu é-é+khúulu	tortoises kind of antelopes	5) the prefix of this particular class differs from 2 in tone. Nevertheless, it triggers the same concord pattern as that of 2.
		á/___ [N+ C]	á-m+phúri á-n-kítti á-tthu á-khole	kind of birds kind of rats people monkeys	

Table 4.1. continued

Class	Morphemes 'Lexically Selected'	Allomorphs 'Phonologically Selected'	Examples	Gloss	Notes
2b	así	así	así-muci así-nakhuwo así-makole		6) pre-prefix expressing diminutive (4.2.)
3	mu	N/___C	n-kóri m-míni	bed	7) CB 3*mu-
		mw/___ [-round]	mwa-áko mwi-ísi	mountain smoke	
		mo/___ [o]	mo-óno mo-óro	arm fire	
		mu/___ { N u }	mu-áku mu-úlu	worm muzzle	
3a	o	o	o-rávo o-káme o-múci o-víilu	honey dew clanship mushrooms	8) CB 14 *bu- 11 *du- (skewed?)
4	mi	mi/___ { C i }	mi-kóri mi-ísi	beds smokes	9) CB4*mi-
		my/- [v -high front]	mya-áko myo-óno	mountains arms	
4a	o	o	o-púnápána o-víilu o-púri	grapes mushrooms kind of mushroom	
5	ni	N/___ { +Dental +Alveolar +Post-alveol }	n-táta n-ráma n-lími n-tthátto	hand cheek tongue mat	10) CB 5* ₃ i-/di-(skewed?)
		nu/___ [u]	nu-úme nu-útta	frog (kind) memory	
		ni/___ Elsewhere	ni-kútha ni-íno	knee tooth	

Table 4.1. continued

Class	Morphemes	Allomorphs 'Lexically Selected' 'Phonologically Selected'	Examples	Gloss	Notes
6	ma	me/___ { i e } mo/___ { u o } ma/___ Elsewhere	me-éno mo-óme mo-ótta ma-táta ma-ráma ma-lími ma-tthátto	teeth frogs memories hands cheeks tongues mats	11) CB 6* ma-
7	e___	e___	e-púri e-kulúwe e-khácu e-hópa e-háce	goat pig cashew fruit fish jealousy	12) CB 7 * ki- nouns formerly in class 9*N seem to have been reclassified into class 7.
8	i___	i___	i-púri i-kulúwe i-khácu i-hópa	goats pigs cashew fruits fish	13) CB 8 * bi- classes 7/8 are conventionally orthographically distinguished by the opposition e/i, but e/i in position v ₁ appear to be in free variation in speech, Nouns of class 10*N___ are re-classified into 8.
11 and 14					See 4.2.1
15	o	o/___C w/___ { v }	o-líma o-líva o-rúma wa-ála wi-íla wu-úma	to cultivate to pay to send to sow/plant to fall (night) to become dry	14) CB 15 * ku- distinct from 3b in the concord pattern.

Notes: 1 - following rules of vowel assimilation

4.2. DIMINUTIVE FORMS

The diminutive markers *mwa-* and *asi-* can be added to any noun; sometimes the resulting forms control agreements of classes 1/2 in which case they are appropriately labelled 1b/2b; sometimes nouns retain their original class memberships in which case *mwa+* and *asi+* may be regarded as classless diminutive markers.

4.2.1 Historical note on the e-Makhuwa (e-Sáaka) noun classes

Original *k and *b have become zero in reflexes of Common Bantu in e-Sáaka, resulting in convergence of classes 14, 15 and 17. This convergence is only in shape between class 14 on the one hand and classes 15 and 17 on the other, for class 14 has different concord patterns from 15 and 17, identical to those of class 3.

Class 14 (and also class 11) have been re-interpreted and re-classified as class 3a. As for classes 15 and 17 they share the same shape of prefix and control the same concord patterns but differ in meaning (15 only for infinitives and 17 only locatives).

It may similarly be assumed that convergence of *b and *k is responsible for the situation in classes 7 and 8 (CB*k_i and *b_i) where the prefixes are conventionally distinguished in the orthography as e- and i- but occur in free variation in speech, the concord pattern they yield the sole distinguishing factor. It seems also that classes CB: 9*N ^{being} and CB 10*N, have been re-interpreted and reclassified as classes 7/8.

So far, no other concord patterns or class prefixes have been found and there appears to be no reflex in e-Sáaka of the Common Bantu classes 12 and 13.

4.3. GENDER SYSTEMS

As already stated the classes are organised in singular/plural pairs; such an association of singular and plural classes being termed a gender. There are, however, nouns which occur in only one class (which may be otherwise either singular or plural). Such nouns are said to belong to a one-class gender.

Table 4.2.(a) sets out the primary or "lexical" genders (both two-class and one-class genders) established in e-Sáaka. There are sometimes, more complex oppositions of classes, such as an opposition singular/plural(countable)/collective. Some such "gender systems" are set out in table 4.2.(b), together with certain "derived" genders. The normal or lexical prefix of a given noun-stem may be replaced with the prefix of another class, with some predictable change in meaning, for instance practioner → practice, normal → diminutive. The relationship between such genders is termed gender derivation. It may be observed from table 4.2.(a) that e-Sáaka has 4 two-class genders, 3 one-class genders and at least 6 kinds of derived gender system.

4.4. LOCATIVE PREFIXES

Apart from the nine noun-class prefixes there are three additional classes in e-Sáaka, with locative sense, the forms of which may be observed in table 4.3. These additional classes are capable of controlling agreement in other words, eg:

(1:*) : m-nupáni munáárúpiya (cl. 18)

"in the house is slept"

(the house is for sleeping in)

(2:*) : va-puwáni vaNihórósa vahoréera (cl 16)

"at the yard of Mr Níhorosa's house is beautiful"

(Mr Nihorosa's house-yard is well arranged)

(3:*) : Onowúríya o-Lúuli (cl 17)

"it is drunk at Luuli river"

(It is at Luuli river where drinkable water is drawn from)

Where prefixes m-, va- and o- are associated with prefixes of the corresponding locative class in the verb. Guthrie termed these additional locative prefixes "Extra Independent Prefixes".

There are some stems used exclusively with locative prefixes, for example:

(4):	o-hitto	"downstream"
	m-hina	"inside"
	o-culu	"top, upstream"
	va-thi	"bottom"

Where the locative classes contrast, class 16 indicates specific or exact location, while class 18 indicates location within some bounds, and class 17 has more general reference, e.g.

(5):	va-culu	"on the top, at the top"
	o-culu	"at or around the top"
	m-culu	"in the top (eg: within the upper branches of a tree)."

Such locative words may be used in juxta-position with other nouns, such as:

(6):	va-culu mwa-áko	"on the top of the mountain"
	o-culu mwa-áko	"at or towards the top of the mountain"

m-culu mwa-áko "the top part of the mountain"

to form a locative noun-group.

There are also stems with locative sense in class 7, which form similar locative noun-groups, eg.

(7): e-ríyari ma-áci (1) "in the middle of the water"

The locative prefixes are also used with non-locative noun stems, in conjunction with suffix -ni (2), with or without the primary or lexical noun class prefix, eg:

(8): cl.3a: o-tháko "fertile land"

	1	2
cl.16: va+othakoni → voothákoni		va-thakóni
cl.17: wu+othakoni → wuuthákoni		o-thakóni (3)
cl.18: mu+othakoni → muuthákoni		m-thakóni

The second construction is restricted and does not occur with monosyllabic stems in classes 1/2 and 3/4, vowel initial stems, and infinitives which always retain their lexical noun class prefix.

1- It is possible that this is to be considered a fourth locative class which has merged formally with class 7. We also find prefix e- with other locative stems,

eg: e-hítto "the downstream"

2- The suffix -ni is not used with place names.

3- Notice the tone displacement which happens only with polysyllabic stems. Monosyllabic ones have the tone neutralised: va-pwini "at the grey hair".

Table 4.2.(a) Primary or lexical genders

Gender	Classes	Examples (sg.)	Examples (pl.)	Gloss	Notes
2 CLASS GENDER:					
1/2	1/2:mu-/a-	m-múci mwa-ána mo-óthi	a-múci a-ána o-óthi	fellow clansman child liar	Normally restricted to human beings, verbal derivatives expressing agent or profession.
	1a/2a:ø-/a-	khóle nakhúwo mphúri ewúcu	á-khole á-nákhúwo á-mphúri é-éwúcu	monkey maize(corn) kind of bird tortoise	Includes personal names, personified animals, plural of respect.
3/4	3/4:mu-/mi-	n-kóri mwa-áko mo-óro m-mélo n-lípu	mi-kóri mya-áko myo-óro mi-vélo mi-lípu	bed mountain fire broom inauguration	Includes elements of nature: trees, a few animals, verbal derivatives expressing action/result of action and/or instrument.
	3a/4a:0-/0-	o-púnápúna o-víilu o-púri	- - -	grapefruit mushroom kind of mushroom	Includes elements of nature which appear normally in the mass; [but susceptible of singular detachment (countable)]. The singular may sometimes be used for a part or a type.
5/6	5/6:ni-/ma-	ni-íno n-táta n-tthátto n-rútthu	me-éno ma-táta ma-tthátto ma-rútthu	tooth hand mat corpse	Includes humans perceived as abnormal: disabled or spirit possessed, parts of human body.
7/8	7/8:e-/i-	e-púri e-kulúwe e-khácu e-raátiyo	i-púri i-kulúwe i-khácu i-raátiyo	goat pig cashew fruit radio	Includes animals and loan-words.
1 CLASS GENDERS:					
3a/- 0/-	3a/- 0/-	o-lóko o-káme o-rávo	- - -	clay dew honey	Characterised by elements of nature which are mass and uncountable.
-/6 ma-	-/6-ma-	- - - -	ma-áci ma-khúra me-éle ma-lívelo	water oil sorghum payment	Includes uncountable nouns, liquids or mass-quantity.
15/- 0/-	15/- 0/-	o-líma o-líva o-rúma wa-ála	- - - -	cultivate pay send sow/plant	Verbal infinitives.

Table 4.2.(b): Gender systems and derived genders

Genders	Examples	Gloss	Notes
1/2/6 singular/pl./collective	ma-mwéne ma-y-ó-wiina ¹ ma-húmu	group of kings group of dancers group of chieftains	
1/2/3a sing/plural/role	o-wálele o-múci o-mwéne	prostitution clanship kingdom	Includes abstract nouns in opposition to concrete ones in classes 1/2 expressing the role or state of things.
1/2/7 sing./plural/manner	e-kúnya e-mwéne e-thiyana e-mákhwa	european way kinghood womanhood makhuwa way	Includes nouns expressing culture, quality or status, languages, characteristic behaviour or attitudes.
1/2 singular/honorific	a-múci a-péwe a-théli	fellow clansman king bridegroom	Form of plural expressing respect when referring to a noun in singular. See also cl. 2a:á-.
3/4/7/8 Plant(s)/fruit(s)	m-mánka/mi-mánka ² e-mánka/i-mánka n-khácu/mi-khácu e-khácu/i-khácu	mango plant(s) mango fruit(s) cashew plant(s) cashew apple(s)	Some fruits are in class 7 and their plants are in class 3 and in 4/8 their corresponding plural, forming a sort of gender derivation.
1b+/2b Diminutive	mwá+ <u>h</u> -muci ³ mwá+ <u>h</u> -kori mwá+ <u>ni</u> -ino mwé+ <u>é</u> -puri así+(á)-muci así+(mi)-kori así+mé-eno así+(i)-puri	small fellow clansman small bed small tooth small goat small fellow clansman small beds small teeth small goats	Pre-prefix which can precede nouns in any class. See Table 4.1 and Section 4.2.

1. ma-y-ó-wiina: the glide -y- is inserted, perhaps, to avoid vowel assimilation between the prefix and the EDP o-. See EDP in Concord system, Table 4.5.

2. While in the previous examples we gave only the example corresponding to one class, in 3/4/7/8 we give all classes to show clearly the relation they entertain.

3. It is interesting to see how the tone changes in its surface realisation in this type of gender derivation.

Table 4.3. Extra-independent prefixes: Locatives

Class	Morpheme	Allomorphs	Notes
16	va- (1)	ve/___ { $\begin{smallmatrix} e \\ i \end{smallmatrix} \}$, vo/___ { $\begin{smallmatrix} o \\ u \end{smallmatrix} \}$	1) CB 16 * pa-
17	o-	wu/___ [v]	2) CB 17 * ku-
18	mu-	mw/___ $\left[\begin{smallmatrix} v \\ -round \end{smallmatrix} \right]$, m/-C	3) CB 18 * mu-

Footnote 1: va- alternates freely with wa- and consequently with
ve = we, vo = wo.

4.5. DEPENDENT CONCORD SERIES

Various kinds of word or affix display concord with the noun classes or with the "grammatical persons" (i.e. speaker, group inclusive of speaker, listener, group inclusive of listener - the traditional 1st and 2nd persons singular and plural). Such dependent elements include verbal subject and object markers, absolute pronouns (4.5.1), adjectives, numerals and possessive constructions (4.5.2) and demonstratives (4.5.3).

4.5.1. Verbal co-referents and personal pronouns

Every finite verb-form contains a concord element referencing the subject; verb-forms may also contain a concord element referencing the object where this is personal (i.e. class 1/2 or the grammatical persons), see 5.3.1.2. We prefer to call these elements verbal co-referents (Guthrie BSS 1961) rather than pronouns to avoid confusion with the personal pronouns described below. There is also a relative co-referent found in relative verb structures (5.3.5) which is identical to the subject co-referent except in tone. Verbal co-referents are set out in Table 4.4a, which includes allomorphs selected according to whether the following element begins with a consonant or vowel.

Table 4.4b sets out absolute independent personal pronouns used for emphasis or contrast, eg:

(9:*) : hín ni-nolyá esìma, akúnyá a-nolyá mmùka

we, we eat maize-porridge, the whites, they eat rice.

The pronoun hín "we" has as subject co-referent in the verb-form a

prefix which is not morphologically identical to it. Absolute independent personal pronouns may appear also in pro-verbal constructions where an infinitive verb form is used in lieu of a finite verb-form, eg.

(10:15.102-105):

...nyú waáháwaláca asáári ihun owáani...nyú mwa-asipani?

"you fellows, to have sex with our wives back home, you fellows, who are you [who do you think you are]?"

Where the first nyu "you" does not have a subject co-referent with the verb form and the second nyu "you" does have a subject co-referent in mwa-asipani "who are you" though morphologically non-identical.

It will be noted that there are a number of variants of each personal pronoun; the forms in columns 2 and 3 appear to be compounded with a demonstrative, those of column 4 show a form of lengthening similar to that found in the long form demonstratives (4.5.3.4), while the forms of column 5 are further compounded with a locative demonstrative. The distinction between these series has been suggested by translation, but has not been thoroughly studied.

Analogous 3rd person forms are supplied by (n')yenani (cl.1), ayena or ayenani (cl.2), yena or yenani (remaining classes). The same stem is used with the meaning "same" with a full set of concords for each class, but apparently not in subject position.

There is also a set of "relative subject pronouns" set out in Table 4.4c used to reference the subject of a relative clause in the absence

Table 4.4a Verbal co-referents

Person/class	Subject co-referent		Object co-referent	
	/-cons.	/-vowel	/-cons.	/-vowel
1st person singular	ki-	k-	-ki-	-k-
1st person plural	ni-	n-	-ni-	-n-
2nd person sg/familiar	o/(u)-	w-	-wu-	-w-
2nd person pl/respectful	mu-	mw-	-wu...ni	-w...ni
cl.1 (eg: m-tthu)	Ø-	Ø-	-mu-	-mw-
cl.2 (eg: á-tthu)	a-	ya-	-a-	-wa-
cl.3 (eg: m-kóle)	o/(u)-	w-	-	-
cl.4 (eg: mi-kóle)	ci-	c-	-	-
cl.5 (eg: ni-íno)	ni-	n-	-	-
cl.6 (eg: me-éno)	a-	ya-	-	-
cl.7 (eg: e-púri)	e-	y-	-	-
cl.8 (eg: i-púri)	ci-	c-	-	-
cl.15 (eg: o-líma)	o/(u)-	w	-	-

Table 4.4b Absolute personal pronouns

	0	1	2	3	4	5
1st person singular	mín	minyo	mínnyaáno	yéemin	yeémivano	
	"I"	"I here"	"as for me"	"I myself"	"I again"	
1st person plural	hín	hínnyo	hínnyaáno	yéehin	yéehinvano	
2nd p. sg/familiar	wé	wéeyo	wéeyovaa	yóowe	yóowevaa	
2nd p. pl/respectf.	nyú	nyúwo	nyúuvaa	nyéenyu	nyéenyuvaa	

Table 4.4c: Relative subject pronouns

1st person singular	aka
1st person plural	ehun
2nd person singular/ familiar	aa
2nd person plural/resp.	enyu
3rd person (cl.1) familiar	awe
3rd person (cl.1/2 respectful and the remaining classes)	aya

of an explicit subject when the antecedent has a different role within the relative clause (see 5.3.5).

4.5.2. Concord system of dependent nominals

Nouns or independent nominals occur as we have seen in a limited number of classes only; other words which agree with nouns in class and which may thus occur in any class are called dependent, and may be either nominals (adjectives, pronouns etc) or verbals. On this basis nouns have sometimes been described as "short series" nominals and dependent nominals as "long series".

Dependent nominals fall into different categories distinguished in part by differences in the prefixes by which concord is marked, as may be observed in Table 4.5.

4.5.2.1. Adjectives.

There are a very limited number of adjectives like -kumi "healthy"; (such notions commonly expressed by verb forms or the qualificative *ave* construction (4.5.2.3) in e-Sáaka), e.g.

(11): -inci "many"

cl.1 - mwi-inci

cl.2 - e-énci

cl.7 - yi-inci

The paradigm included in Table 4.5 is the normal non-restrictive form of the adjective. In addition there is a restrictive form with extended prefix used restrictively eg:

(12): mtthu mu-úlupale "old person"

mtthu omú-úlupale "the older person"

4.5.2.2. Numerals: cardinal and distributive.

The paradigm given for cardinal numerals is restricted to numerals 1-5; in class 8 there is an initial consonant mutation affecting numbers 2 (-ili → pili) and 3 (-raru → ttharu). Other numbers are unaffected. The same paradigm is followed by -kavi "how many" except that in class 8 there is free variation between kavi and ci-kavi.

Distributive numerals are formed by reduplicating the cardinals. e.g.

(13): eeli-eeli "two each"

Numerals 6 - 9 are compounds, e.g.

(14): thanú na mmoca "six"

Ten (m-loko/khuúmi) and higher numerals are nouns.

4.5.2.3. Possessive and qualificative constructions.

There are two rather similar constructions enabling an independent nominal to be used as a modifier of another (rank-shifting a nominal group to act as an element within another nominal group). Both such constructions have a prefix placed before the noun class prefix. The possessive (or genitive) construction with characteristic vowel -a- indicates ownership, while the qualificative construction with vowel -o- indicates quality, composition, character, origin, material, e.g.

(15): etéephe ya mwalákhu "chicken's tail"

esíma yo mwálakhu "maize-porridge with chicken curry"

Guthrie's description "nominal with Extra Dependent Prefix" would

apply to both these constructions, which are not distinguished in the majority of Bantu languages.

Corresponding to the possessive construction there is a series of possessive pronouns representing nouns or grammatical persons, akin to those in Table 4.4c:

1st person singular:	aka
1st person plural:	ehun
2nd person sg/familiar:	aa
2nd person pl/respectful:	enyu
3rd person singular/familiar:	awe
3rd person pl/respectful, cl 2	
(and other classes including	
class 15):	aya

These possessive pronouns may have a correspondent long form which follows the paradigm of the possessive (genitive) construction with a glide -w- separating the prefix/stems, eg: *from*

(16):	cl.1: mtthu <u>a-w-aka</u>	"my relative"
	cl.5: nlími <u>na-w-aka</u>	"my tongue"

compare

cl.1: mtthú <u>aka</u>	"my relative"
cl.5: nlímí <u>naka</u>	"my tongue"

The nominal stem -teene "all" and all ordinal numerals fall under the paradigm of qualificative construction (see Table 4.5). Integrative numerals such as o-ómi-raru "all three of them" seem to combine qualificative and adjectival-numeral paradigms.

In addition to túuvi "which" the paradigm of which is eccentric and -kavi "how many" which follows the cardinal numeral paradigm, there are a number of other interrogatives mostly invariable or analysable as nouns.

4.5.2.4. Invariables.

These are some of the interrogative pronouns and morphemes which have invariable forms.

- | | |
|---|----------------------|
| (i) seeni/syaani }
-ni } | "which/what?" |
| (ii) Noun cl 7: e-seeni/e-syaani (indefinite) | "what" |
| (iii) Adverbial: cani (ci-ani) }
cayi (ci-ayi) } | "how" |
| kavi (invariable) | "how much?" (cl. 8?) |
| vayi | "where?" |

Table 4.5. Concord system

Nouns	Adjectives	card. numerals	Demonstratives	Possessive	Poss. Const.	Qualific. Constr.	Integrative	Interrogative
	-kumi	-moca	"one" -la "this"	Pronouns	-a - (EDP)	-o- (EDP)	Numerals	Tuuvu/puuvu
	"healthy"	-raru	"three" s-form long form	(short form)	a-mwene "of king"	o-o-loko "of clay"	"all three"	"which"
1 m-tthu m-kumi	m-moca	ola	yoola	-aka	a-mwene	o-o-loko		tuuvi
2 a-tthu a-kumi	a-raru	ala	yaala	-aka	a-mwene	o-o-loko	o-o-raru	paavi
3 m-kole m-kumi	m-moca	ola	yoola	-aka	wa-mwene	mo-o-loko		puuvi
4 mi-kole ci-kumi	mi-raru	n'ya	cen'ya	C-aka	ca-mwene	co-o-loko	co-omi-raru	pin'yi/piciyi
5 ni-ino ni-kumi	ni-moca	nna	nenna	n-aka	na-mwene	no-o-loko		tinu/linuvi
6 me-eno ma-kumi	ma-raru	ala	yaala	-aka	a-mwene	o-o-loko	o-oma-raru	paavi
7 e-puri e-kumi	e-moca	ela	yeela	-aka	ya-mwene	yo-o-loko		piivi
8 i-puri ci-kumi	-ttharu	n'ya	cen'ya	C-aka	ca-mwene	co-o-loko	co-otharu	pin'yi/piciyi
15 o-lima	(m-moca)	"nno"	"wono"	w-aka	wa-mwene	wo-o-loko	(wo-o-raru)	puuvi
Nominals -kithi "unripe"	-ili "two"	oyo	yooyo	aa "your"	Possessive pronouns -teene "all"			
following -purukuma "entire"	-cese "four"	"that" "that same one"		awe "his"	(long form)	ordinal numerals		
similar -uupale "pig"	-thanu "five"	ole yoole		ihun "our"	Interrogative:	eg: -w-faru "how many"		
paradigm -inci "many"	-kavi "how many"	"that" "that someone"		inyu "your"	a-w-ani/a-pani			
				aya "theirs"	"whose"			

4.5.3. Demonstratives

4.5.3.1. A question of terminology.

Demonstrative, selector or even deitic are terms which are used in descriptions of Bantu languages to mean more or less the same: a dependent nominal which serves to "indicate" something. The terms appear to be rather semantically than morphologically motivated.

In my use of those terms, demonstrative is a generic and semantically motivated term embracing several morphologically distinct series of "selectors" which are further semantically differentiated along a scale of "distance" with reference to

- a) place: "here" in contrast with "there"
- b) time: "now" in contrast with "then"
- c) context: "aforementioned", "the former", "the latter".

4.5.3.2. The forms of the selectors.

Each of the selectors has two sub-series provisionally designated "short" and "long" forms, e.g.

- (17): class 1 - ola/yoola (sel. 1)
 class 4,8 - n'ye/cén'ye (sel. 3)

differing semantically in degree of specification, as well as reduplicated forms in which a short or long form is followed by one or more repetitions of the short form. Each of the selector sub-series has different forms according to the class of the noun they agree with.

The forms of the different demonstrative series may be set out as in Table 4.6. The first selector is formed from two distinct stems:

-la (with morphological variants) and
-no

in a suppletive relationship, apparent in frequent collocation of ola nno "the one here".

The second selector is formed from a minimal stem -o. The third selector is formed similarly to the first selector from a stem -le. It is however, not clear whether the forms for classes 15, 17 and 18 are derived from this stem or again in a suppletive relationship.

There is a further series of locative demonstratives va, wu and mu together with an adverbial demonstrative co "thus, like this". Co and va have somewhat varied uses which are not fully studied yet. Mu, wu and in some cases va can be described as a neutral locative pronoun which one could tentatively designate selector zero (\emptyset).

4.5.3.3. Semantic differentiation of selectors.

Semantic differentiation of the selectors is based on the proximity or remoteness of the "thing indicated or referred to" either in terms of physical environment or of time/context in relation to the speaker or listener of the current narrative foreground. Distinctions especially

of time and context shade into one another, but we may set out the reference of the selectors approximately as follows:

Selector 1: proximity to speaker or to both speaker and listener; "here", "now", narrative foreground

Selector 2: proximity to listener: reference to previous topic or character; interest of or association with listener.

Selector 3: remoteness from both speaker and listener; "there", "then", narrative background.

Selector 1 is in frequent contrast with selector 2 or selector 3, but direct contrasts between 2 and 3 are rare. The examples which follow are drawn from text 15.

In the nature of the case, examples relating to physical distance are rare in narration, occurring only in reported speech or when the narrator breaks off to refer to interruptions or other circumstances of the narration. In reported speech we find Mhammati introducing the other Mhammati to his wife.

(18a:15.222):

olá mhimooove óla (sel.1)

"this you not him fear this"

"Do not be afraid of this (man)"

(18b:15.219):

Yáala pi ámwáára aa ni mìn pi ámwáára aka yáala ála (s. 1)

"this one is wife yours and I is wife mine this one this"

"This same (person) is your wife and mine too, this same (person)"

In both cases speaker and listener and the topic of speech are close to each other and therefore we have the use of selector 1. The second example uses selector 1 in its long form and in a re-duplicated construction.

(19:15.78):

Aáyo, muńlyeke soóne owo.... (sel. 2)

"Yes, eat it tobacco that"

"Yes, do smoke the tobacco...."

A single roll of tobacco was being shared by the listeners during the story-telling. It came to the turn of the narrator to have a smoke, but busy with the story he was unaware of it. His partner urges him to smoke first and then continue telling the story. The roll of tobacco was physically closer to the narrator than to his partner.

(20:15.120):

Masi éle ehonínyákuléla éle! (sel. 3)

"But that has made noise for us that"

"Oh how noisy is that for us!"

The narrators partner, in an aside, complains of a noisy tractor temporarily parked outside in view of both speaker and listener but close to neither.

Examples of contrast in time or context are more readily found in the text:

(21:15.345):

Paápa, yaarí ekhotto eyo (sel. 2)

"father, it was war that"

"father, that was (as grim as) war".

The use of selector 2 is motivated by the description of famine in the old times, far away from the time speaker and listener are talking of. But the partner of the story-teller compares that famine to contemporary food shortages:

(22:15.348):

Masi kahi pi éla yomítánó ela emphéela oníkélela éla? (sel.1)

"But not is this of this year this which wants to us enter this"

"Is not it like the (hunger) nowadays that threatens us?"

Where he uses selector 1 to contrast with selector 2 of example (18) in time "then" and "now".

(23:15.123):

Ole omúwela o-oMámpá-khomá ni ólá nno (sel. 1 and 2)

"That to him know of Mampa-khoma and this here"

"The former to know the one from Mampa-khoma and the latter the
one here"

The selector 3 refers to Mhammati of Erati whose place at the centre of the story has been taken over for the moment by the other Mhammati. We have therefore two contexts preceding each other in time shown by the use of selector 3 for the previously mentioned "background character" in contrast with selector 1: ola, the one in the foreground now.

Another example may be observed in lines 1215 ff, where Mhammati's wife asks the guest Mhammati where her husband is. The narrator interpolates:

(24:15.1216):

Ni ówo aano^omweémela

(sel. 2)

"And he had stopped"

"And he had stopped (by the way)"

With immediate reference back to the topic of the preceding question.

The narrator then expounds on the reasons for the husband's delay, and finally comes back to the meeting of the guest Mhammati and his hostess:

(25:15.1222):

Ni ólá nno ólé mlétto ole hophíya wa...waámwéti awe n'we

"And this here that guest that he arrived at friend his there"

"Meanwhile the one here, the guest, arrived at his friend hostess's"

Ola nno (sel. 1) is clearly ambiguous: it could be taken to refer to the husband who had stopped by the way (the subject of the intervening narrative) or to the guest (who is present in the main narrative foreground). The ambiguity is resolved by the word m-letto "guest" to together with the 3rd selector ole which connects it with an earlier context.

Anaphoric uses of the selectors not only serve to contrast context in time but also to resume the story after an aside or interruption or to mark the end of a scene and the beginning of the next one, for instance:

(26:15.87):

Nálépiye m-torópani óle (sel. 3)

"When he was enlisted in the army that"

"When he was enlisted in the army"

Which resumes the story after the smoking.

It is also worth recording the contrast between inclusion and omission of a demonstrative in nominal groups:

(27a:*) : m-tthú hówa

"person came"

"someone came"

is indefinite and the character involved is new, but in

(27b:*) : m-tthú ole hówa

"person that came"

"The person came"

indicates a character already known in the story (given).

4.5.3.4. Long forms.

Every selector has two sub-series, a long form and a short form, as set out in Table 4.6. The use of the long forms may be observed in the following examples:

(28:15.219):

Yáala pi ámwáará aa ni mìn pi ámwáará aka yáala ála (sel. 1)

"This (woman) shē is your wife and as for me shē is my wife, this same (woman)"

Context: Mhammati of Mampa-khoma is offering to share his wife (who is present) with Mhammati (the guest).

(29:15.1136):

wiiriya: pi yéeyo (cl.2)

"(she) said: let it be exactly so".

Context: The speaker is responding to a proposal of marriage, which she accepts unreservedly".

(30:15.1311):

Pwááróa awe oloóca hothúmaca cén'ye, howlíha, hoókómana (sel.3)

"Then he went to the shop, he bought those very things, brought and sat down with them".

Context: Mhammati (the guest) is following exactly the advice given by his hostess on what to buy for his marriage.

It is noticeable that long form selectors obey similar semantic distinctions to those of short selectors. In the first example the selector 1 refers to the topic (the wife) present at the act of speech, and in the other two examples the selectors are used anaphorically. But additionally in all 3 examples the long form stresses the exact

Table 4.6. Demonstratives

Selector 1		Selector 2		Selector 3		Selector Ø (zero)	
Short form	Long form	Short form	Long form	Short form	Long form	Short form	Long form
1/2 m-tthu	ola	yoola	oyo/owo	yooyo/yoowo	ole	yoole	
a-tthu	ala	yaala	ayo/awo	yaayo/yaawo	ale	yaale	
3/4 m-kole	ola	yoola	oyo/owo	yooyo/yoowo	ole	yoole	
mi-kole	n'ya	cen'ya	n'yo	cen'yo	n'ye	cen'ye	
5/6 ni-ino	nna	nenna	nno	nenno	nne	nenne	
me-eno	ala	yaala	ayo/awo	yaayo/yaawo	ale	yaale	
7/8 e-puri	ela	yeela	eyo	yeeyo	ele	yeele	
i-puri	n'ya	cen'ya	n'yo	cen'yo	n'ye	cen'ye	
15 o-lima	nno	wonno	n'wo	won'wo	n'we	wen'we	
						won'we	
16 va	vano	vaavano	vaa	vaavaa	vale	vaavale	va
		vanova					vaava
17 o/u, wu	nno	wonno	n'wo	won'wo	n'we	wen'we	wuu (?)
		wuu	woowu	-			woowu (?)
18 mu	-	mmo	mmo	mmwe	monmwe	mu	moomu
					mwemmwe		
8 co				cole	cicaale	co	ciico
8+18		commo	cicommo	commwe	cicommwe		
		cammo	cicammo	cammwe	cicammwe		

correspondence of the selector to "the thing indicated". This seems intuitively to characterize all uses of the long forms.

4.5.3.5. Reduplicated demonstrative construction.

As earlier stated reduplication of the selector can be either a combination of two (or more) short selectors or a long form followed by one or more repetitions of the short one. Functionally it serves to mark emphasis and expressivity. The reduplication may be discontinuous, with a selector preceding the head of the nominal group and another following; if a selector does appear before the head, repetition after the head is obligatory. Example,

(31:15.348):

Masi kahi pi éla yomitánó éla emphéela oníkélélá elá?

"But is not it the one of this year, the one which is threatening us?"

Context: co-narrator compares the famine in the story to contemporary food shortages. (See further 6.4.1).

4.5.3.6. Locative demonstratives.

The locative demonstratives are set out in the lower part of Table 4.6. We have already remarked that the paradigm of selector 1 is extended by suppletive use of the stem -no. There are also a number of forms included in the table under the heading selector Ø which are problematic, being employed sometimes in contexts where selector 1 might be appropriate, sometimes where the other selectors might be expected.

Mu appears in every instance to be within the scope of selector 1

(where there is a gap in the paradigm for class 18). For example:

(32:15.835):

Munlókóní mu latáráwu khannómthúna (sel. \emptyset)

"In this clan a thief we don't want him"

Context: the chief of the clan rejects Mhammati because he was
(falsely) accused of embezzlement of goods.

On the other hand wu contrasts with selector 1:

(33:15.1538-1540):

Ni ámučí ala hno otáampi wufnuwácéra ... (sel. 1, cl. 17)

Maphíyero wú woócééla (sel. \emptyset)

"Meanwhile his fellow clansmen here (in Erati where the story was
being told) grew ashamed ... so that they were not able to go there
(where Mhammati had moved to).

Va may be interpreted in two ways: in the e-Sáaka dialect it appears
to belong in the paradigm of the second selector (some dialects have
vo, vaavo); but in other cases it may be within the scope of selector
1. (It is possible that there is a distinction in length, the
selector 2 form being invariably vaa).

Other locative demonstrative forms follow the ordinary demonstrative
use of selectors (1 - 3). For example:

(34a:15.312):

kamaliháru hno kináawa (sel. 1, cl. 17)

"As soon as I finish here I shall come"

Context: Mhammati from Erati accepts invitation to visit retired

soldier at Mampa-khoma at the end of his present enlistment.

(34b:15.1004):

Mmáré h'wo mkívárihe (sel. 2, cl. 17)

"Hold it on the side by you and help me"

Context: Mhammati from Mampa-Khoma asks his wife to help him carry the box.

(34c:15.994):

Aneérá pwííraka: nyéenyú nyú ekasóti h'we opiróthi n'we (sel. 3, cl. 17)

"[She] said: Oh you [there] is a box over there behind the house."

Context: Mhammati's wife adverts her husband about the box behind the house.

4.5.3.6.1. Temporal uses.

The locative prefix class 16 va is also used as a mark of "time during which" or "time from which" something happens or starts. For example:

(35a:15.41):

Masi khayaacúwélána va (sel. Ø)

"But at that point they did not know each other yet"

Context: The two soldiers: Mhammati from Mampa-khoma and from Erati were unaware that they had their names alike.

(35b:15.799):

Wiiriya: moolíkana va (sel. Ø)

"[They] said: now, you are finished."

Context: Mhammati gets arrested after a false accusation by his relatives.

(35c:15.847 ff):

[After dismissing request for summary execution by firing squad
the boss proposes to cast Mhammati adrift in a floating coffin]:

Só nná va ... akálápinteéro ... apheéliye (sel.Ø)

"But right now let a carpenter be sought"

In all above examples va is used as an indicator of time. In the last example va reinforces another temporal adverb nná, which can be analysed as a selector of class 5. (see 4.5.3.5.2).

vano is likewise used temporally marking the logical sequence of the narrative, e.g.

(36:15.80):

vano mkolókóceke wuúlúmáca

"Then, start speaking (after stopping to smoke)"

4.5.3.7. Inherent class meanings with the demonstratives.

The locative va (cl. 16) may be used commutably with mu (cl. 18) or with co (cl. 8) with its compounds commo, cammwe, cole etc., as a "modal" to indicate "manner", "process" or "state of things". For example:

(37a:15.48):

Ni vá(a) khavalokále (sel. 2)

"[to make a mistake] like that would not be good."

Context: narrator has just confused his characters and realised his mistake and his co-narrator warns that if he gets it wrong it is not good.

(37b:15.31):

Ahin, waakhula vaa ? (sel. 2)

"Really ? is that the [manner of his] answer ?"

Context: narrator repeats the formula of answer used by Mhammati and co-narrator is puzzled, so he asks using vaa "that [way]".

(37c:15.408):

Wiiriya: váávaa pi vácivale (sel. 2)

"It was said: that will be all right"

Context: Mhammati accepts offered job.

(37d:15.1002):

Va pi óttóttá nno (sel. 1)

"This [state of affairs or this situation] is [what one would call] a [lucky] find."

Context: Mhammati of Mampa-Khoma comments to his wife about the finding of the box.

All these examples allow alternative expressions with co or commo.

The examples 37b and 37c would also allow mmo and mommo. With these uses we may associate the use of class 5 for time, eg:

(38:*):

ńna "now", ńne "then".

Locative va associated with some types of clause structure may serve as a "thematic locative" whereby the locative serves to introduce a theme and does not imply any kind of locativization whatsoever, eg:

(39a:15.300-306):

Vaakicívelésa (...) owé ówánnya aka

"What I would very much like is that you should come to my home".

(39b:15.486-488):

Vaakicívelale mín, mkíkopihe

"What I would like is for you to sell it to me on credit".

5. THE MORPHOLOGY AND TENSE SYSTEM OF THE VERB

IN e-Sáaka (e-Mákhúwa)

In this chapter, we first deal briefly with categories of verbal radicals distinguished with regard to aspectual meaning and transitivity, and to various processes of verbal derivation that affect the transitivity of the verbal radical (5.1 - 2). Then, we describe the component morphemes and their organisation in categories of verb structure (5.3).

Finally, after a review of the semantic distinctions determining the choice between verb-structures within different systems, we examine the systems that operate at different positions in syntactic structures (5.4 - 5.5).

5.1. CATEGORIES OF VERBAL RADICALS

5.1.1. Aspectual meaning

In order to fully characterize the meaning of a given verb form it is convenient to refer to the tense-aspect systems of the verb and to semantic categories of the verb root which we here designate 'aspectual meaning' (Breithutová 1968; Sharman 1955/6).

We may first distinguish 'punctual' verbs such as okhwa "die", weemela "stand up", ophiya "arrive", opaca "begin" etc. and 'continuative' verbs such as olima "cultivate", winna "dance", oteka "build", orapa "bathe", etc.

Making use of this distinction, we shall for instance observe that a tense-form we shall designate 'general' (see 5.4.2.5) may have a 'continuous' reference when used with continuative verbs, e.g.

(1:15.139):

Noóna e-námwééttélána tho.

He sees [the snake inside her] moving again.

but when used with 'punctual' verbs it is restricted to future or
gnomic reference, (Sharman 1955/6). e.g.

(2:15.803):

(future): N-námwééhana (ni-námw-a-íhana) ámáyi enyu

We shall call your mother.

[ME is told by the police they will summon his mother to confirm
the accusation of embezzlement against him].

(3:*):

(Gnomic): Khúla nihúku a-náakhwa áthhú encí ene

Every day many people die.

There is another category of verbs conveniently designated 'stative'
such as o-cuwela "to know", o-rupa "to sleep", o-lipa "to be hard",
o-loka "to be good", wu-unnuwa "to be grown up". These verbs are
generally used in verb forms of what we shall term completive and
persistive tense/aspect conjugations (5.4.2.4), to express a continuing
state, e.g.

(4:*):

E-núpa ela e-hóónuwa khwèèli

This house is really big.

(where the completive tense/aspect-form combines with the radical to

describe a permanent state).

However, they can also be used with other aspects such as the 'continuous weak' (5.4.2.1) conjugation to indicate "entry into a state" and could be regarded as further instances of the 'punctual' aspectual meaning with 'lexical' meanings: "come to know/realise", "fall asleep", "become hard", "become good", "become grown up" or "become big". Our preferred term 'instative' is thus a reminder of the underlying punctual character of their meaning.

5.1.2. Transitivity

Verbal roots also fall into categories according to the potential syntactic relationships within clauses in which they appear, that is, according to their 'transitivity'. No exhaustive study of transitivity is attempted here, and further detail of clause-structure will be given in Chapter 7, but brief reference is made here because of its relevance to certain processes of verbal derivation (5.2).

For present purposes verb-roots (or particular uses of verb-roots) may be characterised as 'neutral' (lacking any complement). e.g.

(5):

-phwe-	"get broken"
-khw-	"die"

'active' (with optional complement). e.g.

(6):

-emel-	"stand up/stop"
-lim-	"cultivate"
-ly-	"eat"

or transitive' (with obligatory complement) e.g.

(7):

-tek-	"build"
-rum-	"send"

5.2. SIMPLE AND EXTENDED RADICALS

There are certain processes of verbal derivation whereby an extension morpheme (Guthrie 1962) is added to a simple verb-root (or to an already extended verb-root), with an associated modification in the meaning of the verb root, often affecting its categories of aspectual meaning and transitivity (5.1) e.g.

(8):

-phwe-	"get broken" (punctual neutral)
-pwes-	"break sth." (punctual transitive)
-lim-	"cultivate" (continuative active)
-lime-	"get cultivated" (instative neutral)
-limakac-	"cultivate sth." (continuative transitive)

- emel- "stop" (punctual/instantive active)
- emes- "stop sth." (punctual transitive)

Some extensions modify the meaning of the radical without affecting aspectual meaning or transitivity, e.g.

(9):

- es- (intensive)
- lim- "cultivate" (continuous active)
- limes- "cultivate hard/regularly" (continuative active)

Other extensions may modify the aspectual meaning without affecting the transitivity, e.g.

(10):

- ac- (collective)
- phwe- "get broken" (punctual neutral)
- phweac- "get broken (of many)" (continuative neutral)

There are also paired reversive extensions:

(11):

- ul- and -u-, e.g.
- tthuk- "close"
- tthukul- "open"
- tthuku- "get open"

The relation between -tthuk- and -tthukul- has no affect on the aspectual meaning or transitivity; that between -tthuk- and -tthukul- is akin to that between simple and stative extensions and will not be considered separately.

Other extensions affect transitivity and are considered in more detail in the following sections.

5.2.1. The -EL- extension

The morpheme of extension -EL- (realised normally as -el-, but in some cases as -er- in conditions that are as yet unclear) is functionally polysemic. Indeed, it has a number of uses which we may distinguish as applicative, 'rational', instrumental and directive.

(i) -EL- used as applicative (1)

With active and transitive verb roots an element (either in cl. 1/2 or in any other class) affected by the action is introduced as indirect object. If such an element is in cl. 1/2 the insertion of an object pronoun in the verb form will be always obligatory.

(12a):

o-rukula emanka

to pick a mango

but,

(12b):

o-m-rúkúl-ÉL-a mwaáná emánka

to pick a mango for a child.

(12c):

o-lím-ÉL-a mahéle

to weed around the millet

(12d):

o-m-lim-EL-a soóne.

to weed around the tobacco

The indirect object, unless represented only by an infixed pronoun (example 12d) occurs immediately after the verb.

Similarly, used with neutral (generally instative) verbs it introduces a person (or nouns in class 1/2) affected by the verb, e.g.

(13):

wunnuw-EL-a "to be large for sb."

in which case there is an infixed object pronoun.

In general terms, the applicative extension is responsible for the introduction of an additional (indirect) object.

(ii) -EL- used as rational element

-EL- is used to introduce a non-personal object expressing the purpose or objective of the action expressed by the verb, e.g.

(14a):

N-no-mwá-att-EL-a ni?

What are you beating him for?

(14b):

Ki-no-mwá-átt-EL-a ohùcuru

I am beating him because of [his] petulance

(14c):

N-norow-ÉL-a-ni oloó cá n'wo?

What are going to the shop for?

(In the examples 14a and 14c the object is represented by the interrogative enclitic -ni "what").

(iii) -EL- used as instrumental element

-EL- may be used in constructions to introduce an object expressing the instrument with which something is done. e.g.

(15):

o-lím-ÉL-a éhipa

"cultivate with a hoe"

This alternates with the expression of instrument, by a nominal group introduced by ni associative particle in constructions either without -EL- verbal extension or where -EL- realises the applicative functions.

(16):

o-lím-á ni éhipa

"to cultivate with a hoe"

This construction is obligatory if there is a direct object.

(17a):

o-m-lim-a soóne ni éhipa

"to cultivate tobacco with a hoe"

(17b):

o-m-lím-EL-a soóne ni éhipa

"to weed around the tobacco with a hoe"

The use of the -EL- construction to express place is perhaps to be classified here.

(18a):

o-rúp-ÉL-a mkóri

"to sleep on the bed"

alternating with:

(18b):

o-rúp-á vankórini

"to sleep on the bed"

(iv) -EL- used as directive element

With certain verbs the use of the -EL- extension affects the interpretation of locatives so that they imply movement "towards" rather than movement "from".

(19):

o-khúm-á vate

"to come from outside"

o-khúm-ÉL-a vate

"to come out [from inside the house into the yard]".

5.2.2. The causative extension

The causative is realised most commonly by the extension -IH-, but a similar function may also be realised by an extension -s- (sometimes substituted for a final -l-).

We may distinguish three uses of -IH- morpheme of extension:

(i) It is used to introduce an agent (the causator) who causes an action to be performed by another (the actor), e.g.

(20):

o-lim-IH-a "to make sb. cultivate"

weemes-IH-a "to make sb. stop sth."

(ii) It is used to introduce a co-actor (helper) in an action/event, e.g.

(21):

wiíp-ÍH-a ncípo

"to sing a song with somebody"

(iii) The extension -IH- is also used to introduce an inducement or reward for some action, e.g.

(22):

o-lím-ÍH-a makháka

"to cultivate in return for dry cassava"

The subject of the verb may be the actor (as above) or the causator (the offerer of the inducement), e.g.

(23):

ekúwó kinték-ÍH-a enupa

"I offer cloths for the building of a house"

It is possible for the causative extension to be applied twice, e.g.

(24):

o-lím-ÍH-ÍH-a makháka

"make sb. cultivate in return for dry cassava".

Combining use (a) and (c); weemesiha "make sb. stop sth" can also be regarded as a double causative of weemela "stop".

5.2.3. -ANA Reciprocal

The -ANA morpheme of extension has two uses:

(i) used as a mark of reciprocity the target (object) is expressed as part of the subject, and the actor-target roles are reciprocated. This, in general terms happens with active and transitive verb roots, e.g.

(25a): o-kum-ANA "to meet each other"

(25b): o-ly-ANA "to make use of one another"

(ii) -ANA also may be used to express company in which case it introduces an element which serves as a co-actor, e.g.

(26a):	o-wá-ANA	"to come with/to bring"
	o-lím-ANA	"to cultivate with"

Thus, we may say in short that -ANA morpheme extension introduces co-subjects. The subjects may also be reciprocally targets for each other.

5.2.4. -E- Stative extension

If we regard the 'state' as a result of an event/action that has already taken place, the stative morpheme of extension -E- may be considered as 'middle-voice' as opposed to 'active-voice' and 'passive voice' in that it turns the object (target) into the subject and the agent becomes indefinite and thus unexpressed, e.g.

(27a):	o-lim-a	"cultivate"	o-lim-E-a	"get cultivated"
(27b):	o-tek-a	"build"	o-tek-E-a	"get built"
(27c):	weemel-a	"stand up"	weemel-E-a	"get stood upon"

It may also express inherent susceptibility or potentiality, in which case the above examples might be translated:

(28a):	o-lim-E-a	"to be cultivable"
(28b):	o-tek-E-a	"to be buildable"
(28c):	weemel-E-a	"to be possible to stand upon"

The -E- morpheme of extension, thus, does not occur with instative neutral verb roots and turns active and transitive verbs into neutral ones. The -E- extension occupies the last position in a sequence of morphemes of extension.

5.2.5. -IY-/-IW- Passive extension

The passive morpheme of extension has two shapes in free variation: -iy-/-iw-, but the former is predominant in e-Sáaka. In a succession of morphemes of extension, the passive takes the last position.

With active and transitive verb roots, the passive extension turns the object (target) into the grammatical subject and the subject (actor) becomes the agent or is more usually unexpressed, e.g.

(29):

emánka ehorúkúl-IY-a

"the mango has been picked"

But when -the actor (logical subject) is introduced, it is expressed by an associative nominal group headed by the particle ni.

(30):

emánka ehorúkúl-IY-a ni Mhámmati

"the mango has been picked by Mhammati"

With neutral verbs occurring with 'object of respect' (and/or causal object) such as:

o-vóla' etála "to suffer hunger"
 ó-khwá ncúwa "to die from the sun"

(31):

nakhúwo hókhwa ncúwa
 the maize has died from the sun

We have: ncúwa nihokhw-íy-a

the sun has been the death of sb/sth,

but in this case the logical subject cannot be considered agent but as
 (Lyons, 1968 would designate it) an "ergative subject"(3).

With some neutral verb-roots functioning as 'attributive' predicators
 (most often) taking 'partitive' objects such as

o-rékama nnyáa "to have long foot" (lit. to be long in the feet)
 wunúwa múru "to have big head" (to be big in the head)
 o-rééra mríma "to be gentle" (to be nice in the heart)
 o-wéréa níino "to have toothache" (to suffer in the teeth)

the passive may be used only if the actor (attributee) is unexpressed,
 e.g.

(32a):

Mwaána horekama inyáa ola.
 This child has got long feet

(32b):

inyáá' cihorekámiya

The feet are long (of .5b.)

It is, however, possible to say:

(33):

Amwáára a Mhámmati ahónnúwíya erúkulu.

Mhammati's wife has got [her] belly enlarged [because of pregnancy]

(i.e. the pregnancy is well advanced and conspicuous).

And in a similar way one may say:

(34):

elápo' ehónnúwíya inyáá' ela!

This country has got [people] with long feet.

where though grammatically amwáára a Mhámmati "Mhammati's wife" and elapo "country" are the subjects of the above clauses they are neither the actors nor the targets, but the attributees.

5.3. THE STRUCTURE OF VERB FORMS

E-Makhuwa verb forms consist of a sequence of morphemes of different categories (pronominal morphemes (co-referents), markers of tense/aspect, lexical morphemes, etc.). These morpheme categories are introduced in section 5.3.1 while in sections 5.3.2 - 5 we describe the different kinds of verb structure (infinitive, imperative, finite verb forms etc.), made from these elements.

5.3.1. Morpheme categories

5.3.1.1. Radical and base

For the purpose of the present section, the verb-root or radical is understood as the lexical part of any verb form, inclusive of derivational extensions (5.2), but excluding the final suffix vowel and all other conjugational morphemes. (The terms radical (Guthrie 1948) and root (Doke 1935) are used equivalently and interchangeably).

It is frequently convenient, however, to refer to the radical and suffix together as a unit, and for this we will use the term "base" following Guthrie (1948). We may distinguish in this language four distinct bases defined by the type of suffix following the radical namely -A, -ALe, -E and -aka.

The -A base is most commonly realised by a suffix -a following the radical, but there is also a zero allomorph found with a few radicals most of which are loan-words, the main sources being Arabic and Portuguese (2), e.g.

(35):

o-satiyari	(cf. Portuguese <u>chatear</u>)	"to annoy"
o-sukhuru	(cf. Arabic ^V <u>sukr-an</u>)	"to thank"

The suffix we represent -ALe frequently constitutes with the radical a single fused morpheme which we refer to as the -ALe base. The different allomorphs of such a base are as follows:

(i) -ale, e.g.

(36):

-lim-alé	"cultivate" (as in the perfective weak tense)
-ly-alé	"eat" (" " ")

(ii) -N...e where the nasal is inserted before the final consonant of the radical, e.g.

(37):

-lim-ale ~ <u>limmé</u>	"cultivate" (as in the perfective weak).
-tthuk-ale ~ <u>tthunké</u>	"close" (as in the perfective weak).

This form is in free variation with -ale in radicals ending in a consonant (except for asyllabic radicals); asyllabic radicals such as -ly- "eat" and radicals that end in a vowel or vowel + semi-vowel such as -mey- "divide" only admit the form -ale. Radicals that end with consonant and semi-vowel admit either form:

(38):

-wury-alé ~ <u>wunryé</u>	"drink" (as in the perfective weak)
---------------------------	-------------------------------------

(iii) -e is used only after the passive radical extension, e.g.

(39):

-iriyé	"say" (as in the perfective weak)
-limiyé	"cultivate" (" " ")

The bases ending in -E constitute the paradigms of subjunctive forms and as the -A bases, have a zero allomorph with a few radicals as already exemplified.

The -aka base is used in structures including certain temporal constructions (see 5.5.3) and is to be distinguished from the sequence of -A and progressive aspect marker -KA.

5.3.1.2. The subject, object and reflexive object co-referents

The subject and object morphemes (co-referents) have been described in 4.5.1 and Table 4.4a. Note that the cl.1 subject co-referent is realised by zero, and that the 2nd person plural/respectful object co-referent is realised discontinuously by a pre-radical -u- and suffix -ni after the base. There is no object co-referent for classes 3 - 18.

The reflexive object marks the identity of subject and object (actor and target) and is in complementary distribution with the infixed object co-referents. Morphologically, it varies according to the radical shape it occurs with. With vowel initial radicals the morpheme is -ic-, e.g.

(40):

wi- <u>ic</u> -oona	"to see oneself"
wi- <u>ic</u> -in'wa	"to hear oneself"

and with consonant initial radicals the morpheme is only -i-, e.g.

(41):

wi- <u>i</u> -thaka	"to cut oneself"
wi- <u>i</u> -luma	"to bite oneself"

5.3.1.3. Negative morphemes

There are two negative markers *kha-* and *-hi-*; *-hi-* occurs freely with any verb form and is the only negative marker admitted in relative and subjunctive forms.

Negative forms with *kha-* follow a paradigm not wholly parallel with the affirmative paradigm and in particular the distinction between strong/weak forms is inapplicable, the negative forms being based on weak forms.

Where the two negatives contrast *-hi-* may be regarded as the affirmation of non-event, e.g.

(42a):

ncána' kiho-hí-rupa

"it was yesterday that I did not sleep"

(42b):

ncána' kha-kirupále

"yesterday I did not sleep"

The two negatives may also co-occur:

(42c):

kha-ki-hi-rúpále ncàna

"It was not yesterday that I did not sleep [but, say, some few days ago]"

In terms of position in the verb structure kha- always precedes the subject co-referent and -hi- varies in its position but always comes later than the subject co-referent. The variation in position of -hi- seems to imply variation in the scope of negation, but the examples are hard to interpret, e.g.

(43a):

ya-hí-nalime

"even if they do not cultivate" (or "let them not cultivate")

(43b):

ya-ná-hilime

"even if they remain without cultivating (or "let them remain without cultivating").

These are provisional translations and the writer intuitively associates the first form (in a jussive context) with cessation of something started, and the second with abandonment before it is started.

The sequence of kha- and subject co-referent is replaced for certain grammatical persons by a fused morpheme as follows:

1st person sg: $kha- + ki \rightarrow \begin{cases} khaki- \\ aki- \\ nki- \end{cases}$ in free variation

3rd person sg: $kha- + \emptyset \rightarrow kha-$

Kha- with the defective "existential" verb haavo "to be anywhere" reduces the radical only to vo e.g.

(44:15.1510):

Masi kuúhímeeryéni mtuníyani nnémá kha-ní-vo

Indeed, I tell you, in [this] world peace there is not any.

-hi- has an allomorph -i-; its exact distinction has not been investigated.

5.3.1.4. -kA, -si-, -ni, ru, and tho

-KA, -si-, -ni, ru and tho are optional constituents of a number of verb forms.

-KA (realised as -ka, -ke, -ki or -ku in harmony with the preceding vowel) is an aspectual suffix marking progress/continuity or stativeness, that combines freely with tense-forms using the -A or -E base, e.g.

(45): ki-náá-lim-a(ka) "I cultivate" (habitual/gnomic)

For temporal and concessive verb-forms ending in -kA but without corresponding -A forms see 5.5.3.

The -si- particle following a medial tense marker diminishes or belittles the action described, e.g.

(46):

ki-ho-sí-rup-a

"I slept a little"

(compare the similar diminutive marker in nouns, (4.2.)).

-ni is an interrogative suffix occurring immediately after the base or after -kA suffix, e.g.

(47):

Mwaa-ly-áni?

What were you eating?

The enclitic suffix ru is used in dependent clauses to emphasize the correlation between those clauses, e.g.

(48a):

warowa ru o-náá-phwanya

"Only if you go will you get it"

(48b):

k-á-líme ru a-ki-ná-khwa' etála

"Ever since I have cultivated I have not suffered from hunger yet"

It may often be loosely translated "and not otherwise", suggesting the label "exclusive particle". (It may also be suffixed to nominals with the sense "only", e.g.

(48c):

Naayariye acithiyána ru

"We were born only girls").

The suffix tho appears to occur exclusively with verb forms and expresses repetition of the action/event, e.g.

(49:15.1529):

...wiíra náá-wáa tho mmwááni mu khamwáa tho

"As for coming again to this land, he will never come again."

5.3.1.5. Tenses or verbal morpheme "conjugations"

In addition to the final tense/aspect-marker or suffix incorporated in the base (5.3.1.1), finite verb-forms may incorporate a medial tense/aspect-marker that occurs before the root. The various combinations of medial and final tense/aspect-markers yield what are often described as different "tenses" of the verb. Since, however, that term suggests distinction of time, while the e-Mákhwa verb-forms are distinguished also in aspect, mood, focus etc., we have preferred the neutral term "conjugation" following McIntosh 1981. Note that this usage differs from the traditional usage referring to lexical sub-categories of the verb with a common paradigm of inflection, referring instead to the different forms of the verbal paradigm defined either by shape or by the intersecting systems of mood, tense, aspect, focus etc.

5.3.2. Infinitive structure

The minimal structure of the infinitive in e-Sáaka (e-Mákhwa) is composed of the nominal concord prefix of class 15 (infinitive prefix) and the verbal base in -A, e.g.

(50):

o-lima	"to cultivate"
wa-ala (<o-ál-a)	"to sow/plant"
o-limela	"to cultivate" (applic.)
o-satiyari	"to abuse/annoy" (cf. Portug. chatear)

Other elements may enter into the infinitive structure:

- (i) The distal -ko- (5.4.2.6) marks the "distal"/future infinitive, e.g.

(51:15.752):

ki-náárowá o-kóó-kásari
I shall go (and) complain.

- (ii) The -kA aspect-suffix marker of continuity or progress. The infinitive in this structure is usually used pro-verbally (see 6.6.2), e.g.

(52):

o-lím-á-ka malási ayo eseeni?
"cultivating the grass is for what? (why are you cultivating the grass?)."

- (iii) The object suffix (1/2) (in complementary distribution with the reflexive object), the diminutive marker, the -hi- negative marker (the only one it occurs with), -ni interrogative marker and the enclitic -tho (repetitive marker).

This may schematically be represented as follows:

Infinitive Prefix	Distal tense/aspect marker	Negative marker	Diminutive marker	Object/reflexive co-référent	BASE	Progressive marker	Post radical object and interrog. marker	Enclitic
$\begin{bmatrix} \text{O-} \\ \text{W-} \end{bmatrix}$	$\begin{bmatrix} -\text{ko-} \end{bmatrix}$	$\begin{bmatrix} -\text{hi-} \end{bmatrix}$	$\begin{bmatrix} -\text{si-} \end{bmatrix}$	$\begin{bmatrix} -\text{m-} \\ -\text{a-} \\ -\text{i(c)-} \\ \text{etc.} \end{bmatrix}$	-	$\begin{bmatrix} -\text{kA-} \end{bmatrix}$	$\begin{bmatrix} -\text{ni} \\ -\text{ni?} \end{bmatrix}$	$\begin{bmatrix} \text{tho} \end{bmatrix}$

Where the elements in [...] are optional and the elements within {...} are mutually exclusive alternatives.

As noted in 5.3.1.2. the 2nd plural object marker -ni occurs only in combination with the element -u- in the pre-radical object marker position; in this case the interrogative -ni? is excluded, the paradigm being supplented by separate interrogative eseeni?, e.g.

(53a):

wu-ú-vah-a-ni? "to give you (sg) what?"

but,

(53b):

wu-ú-váh-á-ni eséeni? "to give you (pl) what?"

5.3.3. Imperative structure

The minimal form of imperative is composed of the radical and the suffix -A (i.e. the base) in singular, the radical + suffix -A + -ni if it is plural (2nd person) or respectful. E.g.

(54):

lim-a	"cultivate" (sg/familiar)
lim-á-ni	"cultivate" (plural/respectful)

Other elements which may enter into the structure of the imperative are:

(i) -kA aspectual marker

(ii) nkA- exhortative marker, e.g.

(55):

nká'-lim-a	"please, do cultivate" (sg/familiar)
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(iii) Object and reflexive suffix markers and the enclitic tho.

Note that when an object is present the final suffix -A changes into -E, e.g.

(55a):

Ki-méele	"give me a portion of sthg" (sg/non-resp.)
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(55b):

Ki-mééléni	"give me a portion of sthg" (pl/resp.)
------------	--

We may represent the imperative structure schematically as follows:

Exhortative marker	RADICAL	Suffix marker	Progressive marker	Plural/Respect marker	Repetitive enclitic	
$\left[\text{nkA-} \right]$	-	-a	$\left[-\text{ka} \right]$	$\left[-\text{ni} \right]$	$\left[\text{tho} \right]$	
Exhortative marker	Object/Reflex. co-referent	RADICAL	Suffix marker	Progressive marker	Plural/Resp marker	Repetitive enclitic
$\left[\text{nkA-} \right]$	$\left[\begin{array}{l} -\text{a-} \\ -\text{a-} \\ -\text{i(c)-} \\ \text{etc.} \end{array} \right]$	-	-e	$\left[-\text{ke} \right]$	$\left[-\text{ni} \right]$	$\left[\text{tho} \right]$

5.3.4. Uncompounded finite verb structure .

By uncompounded verb-form we exclude verb-forms that involve two lexical roots for which see 5.3.6. The minimal uncompounded finite verb consists of subject co-referent, medial tense-marker (which may be zero) and base. The full structure may include the following elements:

- (i) negative markers kha- and-hi- (see 5.3.1.3). Note that kha-

sometimes fuses with the subject co-referent and -hi-
sometimes fuses with the medial tense marker.

- (ii) subject co-referent (5.3.1.2) sometimes fuses with medial tense marker.
- (iii) tense-markers (5.3.1.2); the medial and post-radical tense-markers form a discontinuous morpheme characterising a particular 'conjugation'. For this reason we have included ∅ among the options for medial tense marker rather than treating the medial tense-marker as an optional slot. The different conjugations are set out in Table 5.1.
- (iv) Diminutive marker -si- (see 5.3.1.4).
- (v) Object co-referent (5.3.1.2): constraints on the co-occurrence of the object co-referent and interrogative marker are similar to those operating with the infinitive (5.3.2) base.
- (vi) base
- (vii) progressive marker -kA (co-occurs with post-radical tense markers: -A and -E)
- (viii) Interrogative marker -ni?
- (ix) Enclitic tho and ru: these elements co-occur in either order.

We have set out the uncompound verb structure schematically on the next page.

Uncompounded Finite Verb Structure

[kha-]	negative marker
{ [ki-] [ci-] [va-] etc	subject co-referent
{ [ho-] [na-] [ø-] etc	Medial tense marker
[hi-]	Negative marker
[si-]	diminutive marker
{ [m-] [a-] [i(c)-] etc	object/Reflexive co-referent
—	BASE
{ [A-] [E-] [AlE-] [aka-] [ka-]	
{ [ni-] [ni?]	Post-radical object/interrogative marker
{ [ru] [tho]	Enclitics

Notes: Horizontal braces indicate possibility of fusion between successive elements. The enclitics ru and tho may co-occur in either order.

5.3.5. Relative verb structure

The relative verb structure differs slightly from other uncompounded verb structures in that the place of the subject co-referent is taken by a relative prefix (4.5.1) agreeing with the antecedent, and the logical subject/actor, if different from the antecedent, is expressed by a nominal group following the relative verb or by a 'relative subject pronoun' 4.5.1 (Table 4.4c) akin to possessive pronouns (see 4.5.2.4). Negation is expressed by -hi- negative marker and the strong weak distinction is inapplicable, relative tenses resembling the weak forms.

It would seem logical to treat the relative subject marker as a constituent morpheme of the verbal word, since it may be followed by the second element of the discontinuous 2nd plural object marker, but we have followed local usage putting orthographic space before the relative subject marker.

The relative verb structure may be represented schematically as on the following page.

It appears that the -kA tense/aspect-marker only occurs when the antecedent is the logical subject/actor.

Note that both the infinitive and the relative are nomino-verbals (ie, they are nouns which may undergo verbal processes).

Relative Verb Structure

$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 1-18 \\ ki- \\ ni- \\ etc. \end{array} \right\}$	Relative Prefix
$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} -no- \\ -\emptyset- \\ -aa- \\ etc. \end{array} \right\}$	Tense/aspect marker
$\left[\begin{array}{l} -hi- \end{array} \right]$	Negative marker
$\left[\begin{array}{l} -si- \end{array} \right]$	Diminutive marker
$\left\{ \left[\begin{array}{l} -m- \\ -a- \\ etc. \\ -i(c)- \end{array} \right] \right\}$	Object/Reflexive co-referent
$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} R \\ -A \\ -ALE \end{array} \right\}$	BASE
$\left[\begin{array}{l} -ka \end{array} \right]$	Progressive marker
$\left\{ \left[\begin{array}{l} aka \\ awe \\ etc. \end{array} \right] \right\}$	Relative subj. pronoun
$\left[\begin{array}{l} -ni \end{array} \right]$	Object suffix
$\left[\begin{array}{l} tho \end{array} \right]$	Enclitic

5.3.6. Compound verb structure

There are few verbal structures in e-Sáaka (e-Mákhwa) consisting of more than one word, but in every case (so far encountered) the constituents have individually structures that occur independently in one-word verb groups. In some cases the first element is a finite verb and the second element an infinitive (see 5.4.2.6. and 6.2); in other cases both words are finite (6.2). We may note here especially verb compounds where the first element is a form of the copula, e.g.

(57):

aa-rí hi-ná-mó-on-a

"he had not yet seen him"

which fills a "hole" in the paradigm of one-word conjugations, supplying a negative past persistive corresponding to non-past, e.g.

(58):

kha-ná-mó-on-a

"he has not yet seen him".

5.4. SYSTEMS AND CHOICES WITHIN THE VERBAL CONJUGATIONS

To describe in an orderly way the use of the different conjugations we have to distinguish different types of clause and consider the system of choices of conjugations available in that environment. The total paradigm set out for reference in Table 5.1 has been divided into sub-paradigms set out in the succeeding tables.

Table 5.1. Reference table of verbal conjugations

POSITIVE FORMS										NEGATIVE FORMS WITH -IE-										NEGATIVE FORMS WITH KSA									
MEDIAL TENSE MARKERS					FINAL TENSE MARKERS					MEDIAL TENSE MARKERS					FINAL TENSE MARKERS					MEDIAL TENSE MARKERS					FINAL TENSE MARKERS				
/C	/V	-A	-aka	-ALE	-E	-aka	/C	/V	-A	-aka	-ALE	-E	-aka	/C	/V	-A	-aka	-ALE	-E	-aka	/C	/V	-A	-aka	-ALE	-E	-aka		
1 -ba-	-baV-	5,2	-	-	-	-	1 -ba-	-baV-	(+)	-	-	-	-	1 -ba-	-baV-	(+)	-	-	-	-	1 -ba-	-baV-	(+)	-	-	-	-		
2 -ba-	-baV-	5,2,5,5	5,5	-	-	-	2 -ba-	-baV-	5,4	(5,2)	-	-	-	2 -ba-	-baV-	5,4	(5,2)	-	-	-	2 -ba-	-baV-	(5,2)	-	-	-	-		
3 -ba-	-baV-	5,2	(5,2)	-	-	-	3 -ba-	-baV-	(5,2)	(5,2)	-	-	-	3 -ba-	-baV-	(5,2)	(5,2)	-	-	-	3 -ba-	-baV-	(5,2)	-	-	-	-		
4 -ba-	-baV-	5,2	5,5(5,2)	-	-	-	4 -ba-	-baV-	(5,2)	5,5	-	-	-	4 -ba-	-baV-	(5,2)	5,5	-	-	-	4 -ba-	-baV-	(5,2)	-	-	-	-		
5 -ba-	-baV-	5,2	5,3b	-	-	-	5 -ba-	-baV-	(5,2)	5,3b	-	-	-	5 -ba-	-baV-	(5,2)	5,3b	-	-	-	5 -ba-	-baV-	(5,2)	-	-	-	-		
6 -ba-	-baV-	5,2	-	-	-	-	6 -ba-	-baV-	-	-	-	-	-	6 -ba-	-baV-	-	-	-	-	-	6 -ba-	-baV-	-	-	-	-	-		
7 -ba-	-baV-	-	-	5,3a	-	-	7 -ba-	-baV-	-	-	-	-	-	7 -ba-	-baV-	-	-	-	-	-	7 -ba-	-baV-	-	-	-	-	-		
8 -ba-	-baV-	5,2	(5,2)	-	-	-	8 -ba-	-baV-	(5,2)	(5,2)	-	-	-	8 -ba-	-baV-	(5,2)	(5,2)	-	-	-	8 -ba-	-baV-	(5,2)	-	-	-	-		
9 -ba-	-baV-	-	-	-	-	-	9 -ba-	-baV-	-	-	-	-	-	9 -ba-	-baV-	-	-	-	-	-	9 -ba-	-baV-	-	-	-	-	-		
10 -ba-	-baV-	-	-	5,2	-	-	10 -ba-	-baV-	-	-	5,3a	-	-	10 -ba-	-baV-	-	-	5,3a	-	-	10 -ba-	-baV-	-	-	5,2	-	-		
11 -ba-	-baV-	5,2	-	-	-	-	11 -ba-	-baV-	(5,2)	-	-	-	-	11 -ba-	-baV-	(5,2)	-	-	-	-	11 -ba-	-baV-	-	-	-	-	-		
12 -ba-	-baV-	5,2	-	-	-	-	12 -ba-	-baV-	5,4	5,5	-	-	-	12 -ba-	-baV-	5,4	5,5	-	-	-	12 -ba-	-baV-	(5,2)	-	-	-	-		
13 -ba-	-baV-	5,2	(5,2)	-	-	-	13 -ba-	-baV-	(5,2)	(5,2)	-	-	-	13 -ba-	-baV-	(5,2)	(5,2)	-	-	-	13 -ba-	-baV-	-	-	-	-	-		
14 -ba-	-baV-	5,2	5,5(5,2)	-	-	-	14 -ba-	-baV-	(5,2)	5,5	-	-	-	14 -ba-	-baV-	(5,2)	5,5	-	-	-	14 -ba-	-baV-	(5,2)	-	-	-	-		
15 -ba-	-baV-	5,3b	(5,3b)	-	-	-	15 -ba-	-baV-	(5,2)	5,3b	-	-	-	15 -ba-	-baV-	(5,2)	5,3b	-	-	-	15 -ba-	-baV-	(5,2)	-	-	-	-		
16 -ba-	-baV-	5,2	(5,2)	-	-	-	16 -ba-	-baV-	(5,2)	(5,2)	-	-	-	16 -ba-	-baV-	(5,2)	(5,2)	-	-	-	16 -ba-	-baV-	(5,2)	-	-	-	-		
17 -ba-	-baV-	-	-	5,2	-	-	17 -ba-	-baV-	-	-	(5,2)	-	-	17 -ba-	-baV-	-	-	(5,2)	-	-	17 -ba-	-baV-	-	-	5,2	-	-		
18 -ba-	-baV-	5,2	(5,2)	-	-	-	18 -ba-	-baV-	(5,2)	(5,2)	-	-	-	18 -ba-	-baV-	(5,2)	(5,2)	-	-	-	18 -ba-	-baV-	(5,2)	-	-	-	-		
19 -ba-	-baV-	5,3a	(5,3a)	-	-	-	19 -ba-	-baV-	5,3a	5,6	-	-	-	19 -ba-	-baV-	5,3a	5,6	-	-	-	19 -ba-	-baV-	(5,6)	-	-	-	-		
20 -ba-	-baV-	5,3a	(5,3a)	-	-	-	20 -ba-	-baV-	5,3a	5,6	-	-	-	20 -ba-	-baV-	5,3a	5,6	-	-	-	20 -ba-	-baV-	(5,6)	-	-	-	-		
21 -ba-	-baV-	-	-	5,3a	-	-	21 -ba-	-baV-	-	-	-	-	-	21 -ba-	-baV-	-	-	-	-	-	21 -ba-	-baV-	-	-	-	-	-		
22 -ba-	-baV-	5,2	5,5	-	-	-	22 -ba-	-baV-	-	-	-	5,5	-	22 -ba-	-baV-	-	-	-	5,5	-	22 -ba-	-baV-	(5,5)	-	-	-	-		
23 -ba-	-baV-	-	5,4	-	-	-	23 -ba-	-baV-	-	-	-	-	-	23 -ba-	-baV-	-	-	-	-	-	23 -ba-	-baV-	-	-	-	-	-		
24 -ba-	-baV-	-	5,4	-	-	-	24 -ba-	-baV-	(5,4)	5,4	-	-	-	24 -ba-	-baV-	(5,4)	5,4	-	-	-	24 -ba-	-baV-	-	-	-	-	-		
25 -ba-	-baV-	-	-	-	5,6	(5,6)	25 -ba-	-baV-	-	-	-	-	-	25 -ba-	-baV-	-	-	-	-	-	25 -ba-	-baV-	(+)	-	-	-	-		
26 -ba-	-baV-	-	-	-	5,6	(5,6)	26 -ba-	-baV-	-	-	-	-	-	26 -ba-	-baV-	-	-	-	-	-	26 -ba-	-baV-	(+)	-	-	-	-		
27 -ba-	-baV-	-	-	-	5,6	(5,6)	27 -ba-	-baV-	-	-	-	-	-	27 -ba-	-baV-	-	-	-	-	-	27 -ba-	-baV-	5,3,5,6	-	-	-	-		
28 -ba-	-baV-	(+)	(+)	-	-	-	28 -ba-	-baV-	(+)	(+)	-	-	-	28 -ba-	-baV-	(+)	(+)	-	-	-	28 -ba-	-baV-	-	-	-	-	-		

This table is intended as an index to the succeeding tables which discuss choice of conjugations available in different moods. It also provides a convenient summary of the allomorphs of medial tense-markers before a vowel. Note that the symbol V stands for whatever vowel constitutes the first element of the radical, (VV implies that this vowel is lengthened).

References in parentheses relate to conjugations not explicitly discussed, but which differ from conjugations discussed in some simple systematic way.

Notes:

- (1): Used in rhetorical affirmative, otherwise restricted to negative.
- (2): Used only in compounded verb structures in which this tense/aspect morpheme enters into the nucleus verb form.
- (3): There is an interchangeability of position between the tense/aspect marker and the negative -hi- (see 5.3.1.3).
- (4): -aahí- may commute with -eehí-.
- (5): kha- is used in strong conjugations with rhetorical force to make a contrast (see 5.4.2.3).

5.4.1. Distinction of moods

The system of choices available in any environment that we have thus distinguished is a mood. We have distinguished the following moods, which are more fully described in 5.5.: Indicative, Contingential, Consequential, Temporal, Concessive, Jussive.

5.4.2. Feature choices within moods

There are certain distinctions that cut across the moods and apply in a parallel way in a number of moods. Features of such a nature are discussed in this section.

5.4.2.1. Strong/weak conjugations

The possibility of choice between 'strong' and 'weak' conjugations is a property of the indicative mood. The strong conjugation is stable per se, i.e. it does not require necessarily any other unit for the structure within which it occurs to be complete; the weak conjugation presupposes a following element in the structure of the clause. Thus, the difference between strong and weak is that of focusing. A strong conjugation focuses on the action/event itself, while weak conjugations focus on the object or the circumstances under which the event takes place (the adjunct), e.g.

(59a:13.11):

Maána elápó ki-nóó-thúma ni wááttiya éla mmatátani.
foc.

Since I bought this country its freedom by having my hands beaten

The corresponding weak construction would be:

(59:13.11):

Maána elápo' ki-thum-ale' ni waàttiya éla mmatátani
foc. foc.

Since by having my hands beaten I set the country free.

where the strong conjugation is action-focused, i.e. the core of information is centered on the action/event itself and the weak conjugation focuses not on the action/event but on the attendant circumstances. Notice that in weak constructions the focused element is lowered in tone (3.3.1):

(60a:13.12):

Wuúluma ki-náá-thanlaca anámwáne pi ottóttacáka
foc.

I select the choicest morsels for speech and let the children take the rest.

But the corresponding weak construction:

(60b:13.12):

Ki-no-thánláca wuúluma anámwáne pi ottóttacáka
foc.

I select the choicest morsels for speech and let the children take the rest.

would imply other activities in which the speaker could not exercise choice.

(61a:13,30):

...kináphíyale wa Ámphula koo-ín-phwánya mwaána mwaánthiyána

When I arrived in Nampula I met a young girl.

In weak construction it would imply a contrast with other meetings of, say, a young man:

(61b:13.30):

Kináphiyale wa Ámphula ki-m-phwamyalé mwaàna mwanthiyana
foc.

When I arrived in Nampula I met a young girl.

(62a:13.38):

Wiiriya: yoópáceńra eyo khiívo maána n-romolalé othelanaca
foc.

She said: there is no way that we start [sleeping together],
for you said we should get married [first] [in approaching the
young girl, the character asked her for marriage not for
anything else (before marriage)].

The corresponding strong construction would imply that marriage was one of many things said and the information would have been centered on the saying rather than on what was said:

(62b:*):

Wiiriya: yoópáceńra eyo khiívo maána m-ho-rómola othélánaca

She said: there is no way we should start [sleeping together] for
you said marriage.

The distinction between strong/weak is, however, neutralised in relative constructions, cleft sentences, temporal relative locative constructions and negative constructions where the conjugations that occur resemble weak conjugations, e.g.

(63:13.23): (Relative, cleft sentence):

E-ki-tikinih-alé ela vá ti mín k-àà-rowale wa Ámphula.
(Relative) (cleft sentence)

What puzzles me, it is me who went to Nampula....

[Introduction] of a puzzle story

(64:15.71-2) (negative):

... occkeceeke, kha-no-cúwéla ètthu.

Being a novice, he does not know anything.

[description of Mhammati's initial army training].

(65:15.1344-6): (temporal relative locative):

Ahn, mhm, ahorúpá ala, ... pi wañtthúkúla awe ecanéla ele vále.

Yes, oh, she has gone to sleep; that was when he opened the window over there.

[ME sat up until his bride went to sleep then he opened the window].

5.4.2.2. Past/non-Past

Conjugations within the indicative mood (or system) can be divided into two almost symmetrical sets which we will designate past and non-past.

Conjugations in the past generally differ from the corresponding non-Past conjugations morphologically by the addition of an element -a- in the tense-markers (see table 5.2). The two sets are primarily distinguished by the time (relative to the time of speaking) which provides a frame of reference, e.g.

(66:13.23):

E-ki-tikinih-alé ela vá, ti mín k-àà-row-alé wa Ámphula ...
non-past Past.

What puzzles me now [the subject of the dilemma tale], it is me who went to Nampula.

There are, however, specialized uses of the conjugation some of which we illustrate below.

(i) narrative use of non-Past conjugations

Non-past conjugations are frequently used for the successive actions of narrative after the initial time-reference has been established with a past conjugation, e.g.

(67:15.531):

Masi ho-kúmiha emínyá vale, ho-m-thuma, ha-á-vaha.

However, he took out 100 MTs, he bought it, he gave it to her.

[ME after having told his mother he could not sell the maize-flour on credit, takes his own money and buys it and gives it to her].

Where the conjugations are non-past but relate to the narrative past.

(ii) Polite use of past for non-past

Past conjugations are sometimes used to express request, demand or suggestion as a mark of politeness, e.g.

(68:13.37):

Mín wa-ánó-kí-civela kipacénraka eléló váava.

As for me, I would like to start [sleeping together] even today.

[The speaker, after having proposed marriage to the young girl and been accepted, suggests starting sleeping with her on that very day].

The past tense here sounds very polite, perhaps because it appears less immediate.

(69:15.514):

Eneériya: k-aa-wa-álé omkòpha palísi.

He said: I came to buy maize-flour on credit. [Mhammati's uncle comes to the shop and asks him to sell maize-flour on credit].

Here, though it is contextually clear that he has immediately come, he states the purpose of his visit with past "I came".

5.4.2.3. Positive/negative conjugation choices

The choice between positive and negative conjugation may be determined either by the mood or by speech style. The mood determines what sort of negative one may choose. Indeed some moods only admit *kha-* and others only *-hi-* (see 5.3.1.3 and Table 5.1). In those moods where *kha-* is allowed it creates a non-parallel paradigm to the affirmative conjugations (see also table 5.2).

The style of speech may use a conjugation morphologically affirmative to express a strong negative or use a morphologically negative conjugation to express a strong positive. One could term this rhetorical affirmative and rhetorical negative.

(70a:*):

Orowa ki-na-lim-a?

Have I finished cultivating that I, should go?

(implying that I have not finished yet and therefore cannot leave).

Where the conjugation is positive.

(70a:*):

kha-náá-ttháwa náá-váva

He does not run, he flies (he runs very fast).

Where, unusually, a strong conjugation is used with negative kha- to express or introduce a strong affirmation of what is happening, expressed by the following verb.

5.4.2.4. Completive and Persistive

Among conjugations that may be described as perfect, ie, that describe the fulfilment of an action, there is a contrast between the completive, which describes something as accomplished prior to the narrative time, and the persistive which describes the persistent consequences of such an action at the narrative time, e.g.

(71:16.267):

Lakhini aanóó-tthéela nihúku naawaále awe orétthééla.

However, he was full of enthusiasm the day he came

[mother-in-law complaining the fate of her daughter]

which uses a persistive conjugation to contrast the behaviour of the young man the day he proposed with his subsequent abscondment and revealed bigamy; The corresponding completive would only have implied some previous occasion of excitement without relating it to subsequent implications.

Persistive conjugations are thus frequently used in the description of states that occupy the attention at the narrative present, e.g.

(72a:15.1000):

E-nóó-wuluwa mpakétí' ela

It fell from a ship.

[The coffin in which ME was thrown down into the sea]

(72b:15.1481):

E-nóó-cára.

The [snake] filled the whole house

[People describing the snake killed by ME on the first night of his marriage in his house].

Where the conjugation describes the state of o-cara "be full" not the completion.

By contrast the completive conjugations are not closely associated with the narrative present, e.g.

(73:15.701):

.. m-cúrukhu ennyu vá ho-rówéeha.

your money he took it with him, indeed.

[ME's uncle accuses him to his boss of money embezzlement].

Where the accusation of embezzlement relates to past misdemeanour, what may have happened since being irrelevant.

It is noteworthy that persistive only occurs as a strong conjugation where the focus is on the verbal action.

Persistive conjugation uses are often found in clauses establishing causal, sequential, concessive relationships, e.g.

(74:15.1552):

... aáyo itaréfá ci-nomw-á-inciva.

Yes, he has got too many tasks to perform.

[Referring to Mr. Marupi who was responding to the story-telling on the first occasion but now, due to other duties was not present].

There is a distinction between negative perfect verbs which appears to be analogous and to which we tentatively apply the same labels. The persistive stresses the persistent consequences (or the persistent non-action); e.g.

(75:13.101-102):

... amwáára aka yoólya néñne néñne kha-a-ná-lya.

As for my wife, ever since [the food you gave me has finished] she has not eaten yet. The bridegroom goes back to his wife's mother in order to get the special food for his wife.

Here the "non-eating" has started at a certain point and therefore can be considered a completive event/action, but has persisted as non-event/non-action. A substitution of the persistive-negative for a completive-negative would refer to a simple past non-action implicitly contrasted with some other action.

Contrast however:

(76:15.1411):

Ocapá'n'wé, enówa elé kha-a-cuwélale, kha-a-vuwénlale

[Even with] the farting and [the killing of] the snake she was unaware, she did not awake.

[The lady had gone to a deep sleep when she farted and when her husband killed the snake which had come out from her belly].

The completive verbs khaacuwelale and khaavuwenlale contrast with what one might expect to have happened and refer back to action previous to the narrative point.

5.4.2.5. General, Habitual and Distal

The conjugation we have arbitrarily labelled general have a number of uses (such that we might alternatively treat them as sets of homophonous conjugations in only one of which do they contrast with the conjugation labelled habitual). These uses we may label:

- (i) Gnomic
- (ii) Future
- (iii) Continuous.

(i) Gnostic

The use we have labelled gnostic refers to actions/situations which occur as part of nature without any reference to specific time, for example:

(77:15.12):

Aáyo, ni wúú'lumáca nno nno o-námwá-ákhélániya

Indeed, the [art of speech] has to be taken over from one by another. [Dialogue, narration, all kinds of speech require collaboration].

Contrast:

(78:13.2):

Masi mu-nn(o)-á-ákhéliyaka?

But can ['t] someone take over from you?

Where the habitual conjugation is used by a would-be speaker frustrated that the narrator has proceeded to a second story without yielding his turn.

The gnostic use admits of a specific subject, e.g.

(79:15.5):

Paapa, ni-námw-ín'wánána khweeli.

Father, we understand each other perfectly.

Where the gnostic conjugation implies a natural understanding and is

stronger than the habitual conjugation which would imply the possibility of occasional lapses. Conversely we can see the contrast with the habitual in:

(80:15.399):

Okunya o-nnó-cúwela wuúluma?

Can you speak Portuguese?

[ME being interviewed by the boss for the job of shop-keeper].

Where the habitual expresses only a working knowledge of Portuguese while the general would imply perfect fluency.

(ii) Future

The use we have labelled future refers to actions/events which take place (or are supposed to take place) not necessarily immediately after the time of the speech act, e.g.

(81:15.803):

n-námw-á-íhana ámáyí enyu.

We will call your mother

[ME is told by the police they will call his mother to confirm the accusation of embezzlement against him].

This use contrasts with certain uses of distal constructions in which the action is announced as immediate or following inexorably, e.g.

(82:15.436):

ki-nokówootola wa áamáama ki-náawa
(Distal) (future)

"I am going to visit my mother's, I will come back [in due course].

(iii) Continuous

The use labelled continuous refers to events/actions in 'progress' (continuously or intermittently) at the time of speech-act. This aspect usually occurs with verb roots with continuative aspectual meaning, e.g.

(83a:13.34-5):

... mmakhúváni mmo mooteéne m-náá-kí-thukuméla

My whole body is trembling

[Expressing the young girls excitement towards the young man who, has just proposed marriage to her].

(83b:15.1408):

Athíyána a-náá-rúpa va.

The woman is still sleeping at that moment.

[Extending in time before and after narrative point, i.e. she has remained sleeping while her bridegroom killed the snake that came from inside her].

5.4.2.6. Distal constructions

We have referred to distal constructions rather than a distal conjugation because there is a free variation between 'contracted' forms such as ki-nokóó-liva "I am going to pay" (which has all properties of a one-word conjugation form) and uncontracted 'compound' forms such as ki-no-kéla oliva "I am going to pay" in which the conjugation of an auxiliary verb is followed by an infinitive.

There are three auxiliaries involved in constructions of this sort:

o-kela and o-rowa (lexical meaning "go") and o-wa ("come"), with corresponding contracted tense-forms, -nokóó- -a, -noróó- -a and -nowóó- -a.

In addition to the temporal sense described in the previous section (5.4.2.5), the distal construction is used for actions removed from the place of speech (-kel-, -row-) or performed at the place of speech by persons previously absent (-w-), e.g.

(84:11.65-7):

Keehíphwánye wa Árílintu n'wo ki-nokóó-vikana; ki-nkóó-rowa o-Sihúri
 If I do not find it at Arlindo's shop I will go further; I will go
 to Cháúre district. [Fishermen talking about shortages of twine
 and one planning to go and buy it in some shops he heard previously
 that there was some, in order to mend his fishing net].

Contrast:

(85:7.590):

Váno yéeyo ewéélo aká eyo, meélé ayo ki-mmóó-hawula.

Then as soon as I come, I will take some millet. [The former

lover of Masikhini's wife plots against him by instructing his former mistress to ask her husband how he managed to become so rich].

He uses the verb -w- (its allomorph) indicating that the performance of the action/event will be at the place of speech.

However, the implication of temporal/spatial reference often becomes irrelevant and therefore unspecified, e.g.

(86:15.701):

ÁMhámmati e-nokóó-khúma meélo mwikikohe...

As for Mr. Mhammati, what will happen tomorrow, do not ask me.

[Mhammati's uncle anticipates his denial of connivance in the embezzlement of the money in front of Mhammati's boss].

Where the place of event is not specified, despite the radical kel- used in the construction.

Sometimes distal constructions are used to express challenge with the meaning "manage/succeed in", e.g.

(87:15.1184-1193):

Mtthú n(o)kóó-mthela ... eloóca eyo ... ki-náá-m-maha.

The person who is going to succeed in getting married to her, the shop, I will give it to him [The father desperate for his daughter to get married, promises to give one of his shops to whoever would manage it].

5.5. DESCRIPTION OF THE MOODS

As may have been observed from 5.4. to 5.4.1, our use of the term "mood" has little to do with Halliday's distinction of the interpersonal functions (declarative, imperative, interrogative), but is more akin to the classical use distinguishing indicative, subjunctive, optative etc. The basis of distinction is the existence of paradigms of conjugations that can occur in a given syntactic context. Only a limited number of moods have been distinguished, reflecting a low level of delicacy in the distinction of contexts.

Note that it frequently occurs that a given conjugation may figure in more than one mood. For instance,

(88a:*):

káphiye, mithúpi cúúu!

"No sooner had I arrived than the cocks crowed".

(88b:*):

káphiye waámáama kirúpe.

Let me arrive to my mother's and sleep.

The same form káphiye in 88a realises the temporal mood and in 88b the jussive mood. This polysemy creates difficulties in labelling the individual conjugations, and we have sometimes resorted to referring to them by their constituent tense-markers.

5.5.1. Indicative mood

The conjugations we have brought together as forming the indicative mood can in general appear in independent declarative clauses. They have been set out in Table 5.2. It may be observed that some features discussed in 5.4.2 are restricted to this mood.

5.5.2. Contingential and consequential moods

Conjugations of the contingential and consequential moods enter respectively the dependent clause (protasis) and governing clause (apodosis) of a conditional construction (8.2.2.3). A restricted set of conjugations occur in the contingential mood and are set out in Table 5.3a, the consequential mood embraces all the conjugations available in the indicative and subjunctive moods with the addition of the resultative conjugations set out in Table 5.3b. The contingential mood expresses a logical or temporal precondition (and thus has a wider semantic range than usually associated with "conditionals"); permitted combinations of contingential and consequential conjugations are set out in Table 5.3c, with impressionistic indication of which combinations express a logical precondition (c) and which a temporal precondition (t). In a few cases the governing clause (consequential) must precede the dependent clause (contingential). These have been identified "inv" (i.e. inverted).

5.5.3. Temporal mood

As we have seen (5.5.2) temporal relations are frequently expressed by a conditional construction, there are, however, certain specifically temporal constructions (8.2.3), the conjugations which appear in the

Table 5.2. Indicative mood

INDICATIVE MOOD		STRONG	WEAK	NEGATIVE		
P A S T	Perfect	Completive	-áhó-a ¹	-aa-ALE	kha-áá-ALE	
		Persistent	-aanóó-a ²	-	(aa-Rí+hi-ná-a ³)	
	Non-Perfect	Habitual	-aánó-a	-aa-a ⁴	kha-aa-a	
		General	-aánáa-a			
		Distal	-aakóó-a	-aakóó-a	kha-akóó-a	
			-aaróó-a	-aaróó-a	kha-aaróó-a	
			-aawóó-a	-aawóó-a	kha-aawóó-a	
	N O N - P A S T	Perfect	Completive	-ho-a	-ø-ALE	kha-ø-ALE
			Persistent	-nóó-a	-	kha-ná-a ³
Non-Perfect		Habitual	-hínó-a	-no-a	kha-no-a	
		General	-náá-a			
		Distal		-nokóó-a ⁵	kha-nokóó-a ⁵	
				-noróó-a	kha-noróó-a	
				-nowóó-a	kha-nowóó-a	

Notes:

- (1) The -áhó-a conjugation has free variants: aahó-a and -aá-a, the last being used only with consonant initial radicals
- (2) The -aanóó-a and -nóó-a conjugations are doubtfully included in the indicative mood as they occur in the governing of a temporal or contingent construction, but not in a one-clause sentence. It may be considered a "linked" persistent conjugation.
- (3) The compounded verbal structure -aa-Rí+hi-ná-a is in suppletive relation to the non-past-persistent negative kha-ná-a (see 5.3.6 and 5.4.2.4)
- (4) Habitual and general tense conjugations are not distinguished in weak tenses.
- (5) These conjugations are in free variation with verbal compound structures using the auxiliaries okela, orowa, owa, see 5.4.2.6.

/ clause

Table 5.3a. Contingential mood (Protasis)

		POSITIVE	NEGATIVE
Perfect	Completive	-áá-ALE	-áháa-ALE
	Persistive	-ná-ALE	-Øhi-ALE
Imperfect	Habitual	-áá-a	-áháa-a
	General	-a-a (ru)	-aahí-e (ru) -eehí-e(ru)

Table 5.3b. Consequential mood (Apodosis)

		POSITIVE	NEGATIVE
Resultative	PAST	-aanaa-a(ka)	-aanaahí-a(ka)
	NON-PAST	-naa-a(ka)	-naahí-a(ka)

The consequential mood embraces all of the conjugations available in the indicative mood (Table 5.2) and subjunctive mood (Table 5.6) with the addition of the resultative conjugations above.

Table 5.3c. The selection of conjugations in conditional constructions

CONSEQUENTIAL	CONTINGENTIAL			
	COMPLETIVE	PERSISTIVE	HABITUAL	GENERAL
	-áá-ALE	-ná-ALE	-áá-a (ka)	-a-a (ka)
INDICATIVE				
PAST:				
-aahó-a	c	t	c	c/(t)
-aanóó-a	-	(t/inv.)	-	c/(t)
-aánó-a	-	t	-	c/(t)
-aánáa-a	c	c	c	c/t
-aakóó-a	c	c	c	c/t
-aa-ALE	-	t	-	c/t
-aa-a	-	t	-	c/t
NON-PAST:				
-ho-a	-	t	-	c/t
-hóó-a	-	t	-	c/t
-hónó-a	-	(t?)	-	c/t
-náá-a	-	t	-	c/t
-nokóó-a	-	t	-	c
-ø-ALE	-	t	-	c/t
-no-a	-	t	-	c/t
NEGATIVE PAST:				
kha-áá-ALE	-	-	-	c/(t)
kha-aa-a	c	c	c	c/(t)
kha-aakóó-a	c	c	c	c/t
NEGATIVE NON-PAST:				
kha-ø-ALE	-	(t/inv?)	-	c/(t)
kha-ná-a	-	(t/inv?)	-	c/(t)
kha-no-a	-	(t/inv?)	-	c/t
kha-nokóó-a	-	t	-	c
RESULTATIVE				
-aanaa-a (ka)	c	c	c	-
-naa-a (ka)	-	-	-	c
-aanaahí-a (ka)	c	c	c	-
-naahí-a (ka)	-	(+)	-	c
JUSSIVE				
-ø-e (ke)	-	(t/inv?)	-	c/t
-á-e (ke)	-	(t/inv?)	-	c/t
-éé-e (ke)	-	(t/inv?)	-	c/t
-ohí-e (ke)	-	(t/inv?)	-	c/t
-áhi-e (ke)	-	(t/inv?)	-	c/t
-áhee-e (ke)	-	(t/inv?)	-	c/t

Table 5.4. Temporal mood

		POSITIVE	NEGATIVE
ANTERIOR	PAST	-aanóó-á(ká)	-aanóóhí-á
	NON-PAST	-nóó-á(ká)	-nóóhí-á
COTEMPORAL	COEXTENSIVE	-ee-áka	-
	INCLUDED	-ø-áka	-øhí-aka
IMMEDIATE	PUNCTUAL	-ø-áká	-øhí-aka
	EXTENDED	ø-ákáru	-áhí-eru
		á-eru	

dependent clause of these constructions have been treated as forming the temporal mood and are set out in Table 5.4.

The temporal conjugations have been tentatively classified as anterior, cotemporal and immediate.

- (i) Anterior conjugations specify the action of the dependent clause as preceding (by indefinite time) the action of the governing clause, e.g.

(89:*):

k-aanóó-lim-á(ká) khúlyaka.

After I had cultivated I ate.

The main clause in such cases is frequently consecutive (8.1.1) or pro-verbal

- (ii) Cotemporal conjugations specify the action of the governing clause as taking place during that of the dependent clause; they are further distinguished as coextensive ("as long as"), e.g.

(90:*):

k-ee-they-áka ki-nám-ún1-a.

As I laugh I get tears

or included ("during, while"), e.g.

(91:*):

ki-phwany-alé ki-ly-áka

He found me while I was eating.

- (iii) Immediate conjugations specify the action of the governing as following immediately upon that of the dependent clause, either as a single punctual action ("no sooner ... than"), e.g.

(92:15.535):

E-rowáka ále, aw-áka muúlúpale awe.

"No sooner had he gone than his brother came".

Or as extended in time ("ever since"), e.g.

(93:*):

ki-lim-áka' ru aki-ná-voliy-a.

Ever since I have cultivated I have never had hunger.

5.5.4. Concessive mood

Concessive conjugations are used in the dependent clause of concessive constructions (8.2.4) and are set out in Table 5.5. (There are also concessive constructions employing conjugations of the indicative mood).

5.5.5. Jussive mood

The conjugations of the jussive mood set out in Table 5.6. occur in independent imperative clauses. There is a distinction between immediate and non-immediate conjugations. The latter also occur in the consequential mood (5.5.2) and purposive constructions (8.2.4.1), and are conveniently regarded as constituting a sub-mood which we may call subjunctive.

Table 5.5. Concessive mood

CONCESSIVE MOOD		POSITIVE	NEGATIVE	
P A S T	Perfect	[Persistent	-aanóó-aka	-aanóóhí-aka
		[Continuous	-aánáa-aka	-aánáahí-aka
	Imperfect	[Habitual	-aná-a(ka)	-anáhi-e ¹
		[Continuous	-náá-aka	-nááhí-aka
N O N - P A S T	Perfect	[Persistent	-nóó-aka	-nóóhí-aka
		[Continuous	-náá-aka	-nááhí-aka
	Imperfect	[Habitual	-aná-a(ka)	-anáhi-e ¹
		[Continuous	-náá-aka	-nááhí-aka

NOTES:

- (1) hi- in these types of conjugation may change its position with a consequent slight change of meaning (5.3.1.3).
- (2) The corresponding governing clause conjugations are to be found in the indicative mood.

Table 5.6. Jussive mood

		POSITIVE	NEGATIVE
IMMEDIATE	IMPERATIVE	IMPERATIVE	
		(5.3.3)	kha-e
NON- IMMEDIATE	SUBJUNCTIVE		
	GENERAL	-Ø-e(ke)	-Øhi-e(ke)
	Distal	-á-e(ke)	-áhí-e(ke)
		-éé-e(ke)	-áhéé-e(ke)

NOTES:

(1) Applicative sometimes is designated "benefactive" in the sense that "somebody does something on behalf of the other". However, though "benefactive" appears to be appropriate with some verbs, there are a number of radicals which lexically would not be possible to co-occur with:

(95:*):

o-hawal-a	"to commit adultery with a woman"
o-hawalel-a	"to have love affair with somebody's wife"

where the extension -EL- does not have any lexical specialisation but has the same properties and functions of what is normally regarded as "benefactive" and yet is not benefactive at all as far as the husband is concerned.

(2) Indeed, the only item, so far registered, which derives from internal word formation, is the one exemplified here:

-rupaathi	"to lie down"
-khalaathi	"to sit down"
-insaathi	"to lay down".

This seems to have come from agglutination of some bases with the stem -thi as found in va-thi "down, on the ground", mmu-thi "in the lower branches of the tree", e.g.

-rupa+thi
-khala+thi
-esa+thi.

That -thi is part of the radical is evident from forms like:

(94:15.1340):

Mweényne m-rupááthiki

My darling, please do [come and] lie down.

with aspect morpheme -AK-.

(3) John Lyons (1968) states, in Chapter 8.2, that the term "ergative" expresses 'the syntactic relationship that hold between the subject of an intransitive verb [or clause] becoming the object of a corresponding transitive verb' [or clause and an introduction of a new subject as the] agent (or "cause") of the action referred to".

6. THE STRUCTURE OF THE GROUP IN e-Sáaka

Previous chapters have described the morphology of the nominal and the verbal. The present chapter is concerned with the main types of nominal and verbal group into which these enter and with the structure of these groups.

6.1 ENCODING UNITS AND THE DELIMITATION OF THE NOMINAL GROUP

We have found it convenient to refer to encoding units (Carter 1963 drawing on Bernstein 1960) corresponding to the stretch of speech conceived or formulated in a single encoding act. This concept has been used here to determine whether a sequence of nominals all sharing the same role in the transitivity system are to be regarded as a single nominal group or as several nominal groups. we have observed that whenever by applying intuitively the criterion of distinct encoding units we have distinguished more than one nominal group in apposition, any demonstrative present in the first will be echoed at the end of all succeeding nominal groups/encoding units (unless followed by another determiner).

6.2 THE NOMINAL GROUP: STRUCTURAL ELEMENTS

The term nominal group (NG) is used to describe a collocation of nominals forming together a single syntactic unit. Most kinds of nominal are capable of standing by themselves as the sole constituents of a nominal group (being "promoted" to act as "heads", see 6.5); however, we concern ourselves, for the present, only with the structure of nominal groups consisting of more than one constituent. Usually these constituents are divided into head (h) and modifier (m).

Some constituents of a nominal group not only modify the head (unless promoted to head) but also mark the potential boundaries of an encoding unit. We term such a kind of modifiers "determiners" (d) and they include the personal pronouns and the demonstratives (see 4.1).

Demonstratives and most other modifiers are associated with the head by class concord; other modifiers are simply juxtaposed without formal link, and we have distinguished "appositive modifiers" (a) and "complementary modifiers" (c), the latter having the same reference as the head.

Certain modifiers are capable of modification in their turn by sub-modifiers (sm) (Maw 1969:83). Other structural slots are introduced à propos of particular constructions.

Nominal groups exhibit several systems of features realised by inflectional morphemes. In the system of "case", inflectional morphemes corresponding to locative, genitival and agentive functions are labelled "pp" (preposition?); predicative morphemes (realising the system of nominal predication are labelled "cpl" (copula) and conjunctions are labelled "&".

Full details of the conventions used for structural annotations will be found in the introduction to the Appendix, but note that single square brackets [...] enclose a rank-shifted nominal group (which may be categorised g (genitival) or l (locative) and double square brackets [[...]] a rank-shifted clause (which may be labelled r (relative) or gi (genitivo-infinitival)).

6.3 TYPES OF MODIFIERS

6.3.1 Concordial modifiers

There are three categories of concordial modifiers: Adjectival (6.3.1.1), genitival (6.3.1.2, potentially itself a rank-shifted genitival n.g), and relative (6.3.1.3).

6.3.1.1 Adjectival modifiers

This category of modifiers includes several morphologically distinct series of dependent nominals (see Table 4.5), e.g., the adjective proper as in

(1a: 15.196):

<u>Mkórí</u>	<u>mwa-áńkáani</u>	ole
h	m	d

The small bed.

and the numeral as in

(1b: 15.437):

<u>Mye-éri</u>	<u>mi-thanú</u>	na	<u>m-moca</u>
h	m	&	m

Six months, (literally "months five and one").

It is possible that at a great level of delicacy this category of modifiers might be further distinguished syntactically. Adjectival modifiers may in their turn be modified by a sub-modifier (sm), e.g.:

(2:15.1050):

i-tthú	ci-íncí	ene
h	m: [m sm]	

Very many things.

The relationship of the sub-modifier to the modifier recalls that of adjunct to predicate (P) within relative and genitivo-infinitival clauses.

6.3.1.2 Genetival modifiers

This category of modifiers is characterised by a concord relationship with the head by means of an extra-dependent prefix (4.5.2.3) attached

to a wide range of nominals including proper nouns with extra-independent prefixes (locatives), infinitival clauses, and a category of words such as meelo "tomorrow", yeékha "alone", which commonly function as adjuncts, but have some nominal properties, e.g.,

(3a:15.337): (common noun)

e-tála yo (e)-khóttö
h | m: [g:pp | h]

Hunger as grim as war, (literally, "hunger of war").

(3b:15.1542) (adjunct)

n-cúwa no méelo
h | m: [g:pp | h]

Tomorrow, (literally "sun of tomorrow").

(3c:15.1026) (locative)

a-thíyána o waátthúni
h | m: [g:pp | h: [l]]

Women of other regions, (literally "women of people there").

(3d:15.1023) (genetivo-infinitival clause)

e-lápo yo óyévacíyá inyáa
h | m: [[gi:pp | P | OR]]

The land of [people with] small feet.

(3e:*) (proper noun)

e-núpá ya Mhámmati
h | m: [g:pp | h]

Mhammati's house.

In addition to the unmarked possessive construction exemplified in (3e), there is a marked possessive construction in which the possessor co-occurs with a possessive pronoun, either following the possessive or preceding the head, e.g.:

(4a:*):

e-núpá awe Mhámmati
h | m | r

Mhammati's house, (not anybody else's house),

or

(4b:*)

Mhámmati enúpá awe
r | h | m

(the possessor has here been annotated r for "reference"). (the

This is the only construction available to express immediate family relationship, e.g.:

(5a:15.639)

Á-máyí awe Mhámmati
h | m | r

or

(5b:*)

Mhámmati á-máyí awe
r | h | m
Mhammati's mother.

The reference may itself be a rank-shifted nominal group, e.g.:

(6a:15.1504)

Yóole m-pattháni áwe ole óle asícúla awe
r:[d | h | m:[g:pp | ph] d | h | m

or

(6b:*)

Asícúla awe yóole m-pattháni awe ole óle
h | m | r:d | h | m | d | d
The nephews of his friend (literally, "that his friend his nephews").

The analysis above is not altogether satisfactory. It would be possible in the first example of each pair (4a-6a) to regard the possessors as a complementary modifier (6.3.3) of the possessive pronoun, implying an analysis something like

ámáyí áwé Mhámmati
h | m:[g: pp | ph | c]

where "ph" represents pronominal head, but this would not fit (4b-6b), where the possessor seems more like a topic (however, the construction is found in object position, whereas topics are normally associated with 1st position in the clause). The alternative analysis as "r" allows us to treat similarly inverted and uninverted forms, but fails to make apparent the intricate connection of "r" and genitive modifier.

6.3.1.3 Relative modifiers

This category of modifiers agrees with the head by means of a relative concord prefix. The internal structure of the relative construction is further discussed in 7.4.2. For example:

(7:15.1031)

M-kúnyá aarína aká ole
h | m: [[r : P | s]] | d

The boss whom I was with.

6.3.2 Appositive modifiers

Nominal groups in which the modifiers do not exhibit an overt concordial marker of relationship with the head we term "appositive nominal groups". Several categories of appositive nominal groups are distinguished largely on a semantic basis.

- (i) Numerals: Some numerals such as m-loko/khuúmi "ten" are best regarded as nouns, since they may in turn be modified by numeral adjectives, e.g.:

(8:15.367)

M-cúrukhu... iliífvura m-lóko
h | a: [h | a: [h]]

Money (of an amount of) ten libras.

(e-liífvura seems to be a loan-word and expresses a unit of five Portuguese Escudos, thus, iliífvura mloko "fives ten" is equivalent to 5 x 10 = 50\$00 Port.Esc.)

In this example the head does not control the modifier by means of concord nor does the head of the modifier nominal group i-liífvura "five escudos" control the modifier m-loko "ten".

- (ii) Measure or container nouns - similar to some numerals there is a series of nominals which express quantity or measures, e.g.:

(9a:*):

Soóne ma-kókhó ma-cese
h | a: [h | m]

Four fingers of tobacco, (literally, "tobacco fingers four").

(9b:*):

Ma-kháká i-káphú tthaarú ni íthókwa piili
A | a: [h | m] & | a: [h | m]

Three deep baskets and two flat baskets of dried cassava.

(iii) There are a number of locative nominals "par excellence"

(4.4) such as m-hina "inside", m-culu "top", etc., which occur at the head of locative nominal groups and entertain an appositive relationship with the modifiers, e.g.:

(10:15.53):

M-hina m-torópani
l:h | a
Inside (the) army.

or alternatively and more commonly without any locative marking of the modifier, e.g.:

(11:*):

m-hina etorópa
l:h | a
Inside (the) army.

We might consider as related to this type of construction the constructions okhuma vathi and mpaka mculu contained in the following example:

(12:15.855):

...mwaálike okhuma vathi mpaka mculu
measure him from the bottom to the top.

Okhuma vathi could be analysed as an infinitival clause acting as referential object to mwaálike, but it seems more natural to find an analysis parallel to that of mpaka mculu. Mpaka can in other contexts function as a subordinating conjunction, e.g.:

(13:*):

Mpáká aweéke

Until he comes.

A possible solution would be to regard this as a "prepositional nominal group" labelling mpáká and okhuma (in this usage) as pp, and perhaps to subsume under this heading locative and genitival nominal groups (see 6.2).

- (iv) Some possessive constructions described under 6.3.1.2 also appear similar on the surface to nominal groups with appositive modifiers. Further example:

(14:*):

Kihokhúura epúrí n-límí naya
P 0:h | c: [h | m]

I ate goat's tongue, (literally, "I chewed goat tongue of its").

6.3.3 Complementary modifiers

As stated before (6.2) complementary modifiers have the same reference as the head, i.e., they specify or supplement information about the identity of the head, often used in the family or clanical lineages and chieftain titles, e.g.:

(15:*):

Ampéwé Námwáahave
h | c

King Mwaahave.

(16:7.2):

Mpúhiya mwaámwana a Námphitiya
h | c: [h | m: [g: pp | h]]

Mr. Mpuhiya, the son of Mr. Mphitiya.

6.3.4 Locative modifiers

We sometimes find expressions which are more naturally regarded as modifying the nominal group than functioning as locative adjuncts to the whole clause, e.g.:

(17:15.1459ff):

Ni atáatá awe mtthú mwe... ahokhóola wú
& | S:h | m | r | l | P | L

And his father-in-law in there left the place.

(18:15.1222):

Ni olá nno ólé mlétto ole hophiya n'we
& | S:d+h | l | +S:d | h | d | P | L:d
waámwéetti awe n'we
[loc:pp | hl | m | d

And this fellow here, the outsider we were talking about,
arrived there at his hostess's.

Although both examples found in the text have only locative
demonstratives in this position, other locative expressions including
rank-shifted locative nominal groups are admissible. The relationship
of modifier and head is purely appositional, and unmarked by concord.

6.4 SEQUENCE OF MODIFIERS

Structurally most modifiers follow the head but a category of determiners
(demonstratives and personal pronouns) may precede, e.g.:

(19:15.267):

Yáale ma-húkú ma-raru a-viralé ale
d | h | m | m: [[r:]] | d / *three three days that passed*

We shall analyse these "pre-modifiers" first and then the "post-modifiers".

6.4.1 Pre-modifiers and determiners

There are three categories of pre-modifiers occurring immediately before
the head: demonstrative, personal pronoun and a category with one
member: khula (or khila) "every/each". These are in complementary
distribution so no question of relative order arises.

All three categories can be regarded as "determiners" together with
-téene "all". We have noted the behaviour of the demonstrative in

delimiting encoding units (6.1, illustrated 6.4.1.2), and note similar behaviour with the personal pronoun (6.4.1.1). Khula is not echoed in this way, but o-téene normally occurs at the end of a nominal group, where it may follow a demonstrative, e.g.:

(20:15.736):

Itthú céne n'yo cootéene
h | m | d | d

All those very things.

-téene can thus be said to have with the other determiners a role of delimiting the encoding units.

6.4.1.1 The personal pronouns

Personal pronouns may co-occur with their reference specifying each other, e.g.:

(21:15.225)

Nyú á-thúyana

"You women" (or "You woman" [respectful]).

(22:15.1420):

a-ttóótthó nyúu

You (mother)-woman.

In these examples we may observe that structurally the pronoun and the reference behave like what we have described in 6.3.3 (complementary modifiers). However, it becomes rather difficult to determine which is the head and which is the modifier. It has been suggested that we should regard these cases as two separate nominal groups (Professor P. Alexandre 1982 p.c.), but because they occur always in the same syntactic environment (vocative) we consider them as being a special n.g. which we have labelled vocative nominal group in which the personal pronoun (determiner) has deitic functions and the following head is simultaneously complement:

Nyú , athíyana
d | h+c

You woman.

We may notice that the personal pronoun behaves like the demonstrative, being echoed at the end of complementary encoding units, for example:

(23:*):

nyú makámáráta mri mwaalitéia vaa nyúu
 <V: d | h+c | m: [[r: P | A]]| 1 | d >>
 You, comrades who are in the village.

6.4.1.2 The demonstrative pronouns

Where demonstrative selectors precede the head, it appears that they must also be echoed after the head at the end of the nominal group unless followed by another determiner (otéene). Functionally they give a definite reference to the heads they modify. They also mark potential boundaries of an encoding unit, e.g.:

(24:15.1548):

Váno Námárupi ale yaarúméńlá ale ekwáhá yoópáca ele...
 A | S:h | d | +S:m:[[r:P]] | d | ...[[r...A:h | m: [[gi]] | d]]
 Then that Mr. Marupi, the one who was responding, on that first occasion,

where after the first ale the head is already definite, but where the speaker adds two afterthoughts reinforcing the reference; after the first afterthought the demonstrative is repeated directly, after the second, which is syntactically a resumption of the first, the demonstrative is grammatically part of the modifying relative clause, but semantically refers to an occasion associated with the head, so that all the demonstratives refer to a common occasion.

6.4.1.3 The item khula/khila

Khula/khila "each/every" appears to be an e-Sáaka (e-Mákhwa) borrowing from Arabic (kullu "all", perhaps through ki-Swahili) and it is the only one so far registered having a fixed pre-head position, e.g.:

(25:*):

Khúla ní-húkú epúlá enáárúpa
 d | h | s | P
 It rains every day.

We have included it with the determiners because it is in complementary distribution with demonstratives and personal pronouns, but unlike them it is never echoed in final position.

6.4.2 The post-modifiers

Nothing further need be said about determiners except to recall that they always come after other modifiers within an encoding unit, cases where a modifier follows a determiner being treated as a sequence of encoding units. Where there is a sequence of modifiers within a single nominal group, they may be regarded as juxtaposed (without conjunctive element) e.g.:

(26:15.267):

Yáale	mahúku	mararu	aviralé	ale
d	h	m	m: [[r:]]	d

Those three days that passed.

or conjoined, e.g.:

(27:15.437):

Myeéri	mithanú	na	mmoca
h	m	&	m

Six months, (literally, "Months five and one").

In general the sequence is from given to new and from less to more restricted, thus:

(28:*):

Mwalápwa	muúlúpale	a	Ntónio	ri	váyí
h	m	m:	[g]	P	A

Where is António's big dog?

is consistent with António having only one dog, but

(29:*):

Mwalápwa	a	Ntónio	muúlúpale	ri	váyí?
h	m:	[g]	m	P	A

Where is António's big dog?

implies that António must have other dogs, and so muúlúpale "big" is giving new information and restricting the reference of mwalapwa a Ntónio "António's dog".

Apart from this we have noted only a few points relating to sequence. The short form of the possessive pronoun shows a high degree of cohesion (Guthrie, 1966:6) with the head, although the long form of the possessive pronoun is not so restricted. Relative modifiers tend to come after other modifiers, e.g.:

(30:15.118):

Vanó	hokhúma	mwaáñlopwámá	mmoca	eéhániya	Mcuwéláneke
A	P	S:h	m	m: [[r:P SC]]	

Then there came a young man who was called Mcuwelaneke.

We have noted no tendencies in the relative order of concordial and appositive modifiers.

6.5 HEAD-LESS NOMINAL GROUP AND "PROMOTED" HEADS

In the nominal groups that we have considered so far, the item at the head position has (generally) been a noun. There are however many cases of nominal groups without a noun as head. In some cases the nominal group refers anaphorically to something that can be regarded as an external head, e.g.:

(31:15.205):

Ale	eeli	ale
d	(m)	d

Those two ones, (referring back to two Mhammatis).

In other cases the reference of the nominal group derives from a meaning inherent in the concord class; thus classes 1 and 2 refer to people (and personified things), classes 7 and 8 refer to (inanimate) things and class 5 refers to time (4.5.3.5.1 and 4.5.3.5.2), e.g.:

(32a:15.1032):

...owáríháciya	cikina	ca	ápátthani	aya	(cl.8)
P	(h)	m	[g:pp	h: [h	m]]

He was dressed in spare [clothes] of his friend's.

(32b:15.1085):

...nna nnokóóna áa nna (cl.5)
 d { (h): [[r:P| S]] } d
 [now] that you see me.

It is not clear whether in these cases we should use the labels h or m. In the first case (ex.31), where there is an external head, it is probably correct to treat the nominal group as if it were the trailing part of a nominal group with explicit head, using the label m. In the second case (examples 32a/b) it is possible to regard the first nominal (or possibly the first after any demonstrative) as a "promoted" head. In principle any category of nominal is capable of figuring as the sole element in a one-word nominal group.

6.6 THE VERBAL GROUP

In contrast with the complexity frequently found in nominal groups, verbal groups are generally simple in structure and in only a few cases consist of more than one word. A number of verbal sequences which might at first sight be regarded as a verbal group seem better regarded as a sequence of verbal predicate and sentential object or rank-shifted infinitive clause.

6.6.1 Types of verbal group and their structure

The first type of verbal group involves one of the auxiliaries okela ("go"), orowa ("go"), owa ("come"), ohala ("remain") and the copula -ri, followed by a main verb which we have labelled ncl (nucleus). With these verb auxiliaries there are two morphologically distinct constructions.

In the first construction both the auxiliary and the nucleus are in finite verb form, e.g.:

Mwiikela	mwéera	:	"wa áamáyi áwe pi wénnyááthi awe"
P: aux	ncl		

1. *Staphylococcus aureus*

...palísí ola yíiriyé mhihala | mu-m-kópiha
aux | ncl

11

Karowa	<u>kāphiya</u>	kinokówaahimeérya
aux	ncl	

10

Kinorówa olima (Kinoróólima)
aux | ncl

1997, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023, 2024, 2025, 2026, 2027, 2028, 2029, 2030, 2031, 2032, 2033, 2034, 2035, 2036, 2037, 2038, 2039, 2040, 2041, 2042, 2043, 2044, 2045, 2046, 2047, 2048, 2049, 2050, 2051, 2052, 2053, 2054, 2055, 2056, 2057, 2058, 2059, 2060, 2061, 2062, 2063, 2064, 2065, 2066, 2067, 2068, 2069, 2070, 2071, 2072, 2073, 2074, 2075, 2076, 2077, 2078, 2079, 2080, 2081, 2082, 2083, 2084, 2085, 2086, 2087, 2088, 2089, 2090, 2091, 2092, 2093, 2094, 2095, 2096, 2097, 2098, 2099, 2100, 2101, 2102, 2103, 2104, 2105, 2106, 2107, 2108, 2109, 2110, 2111, 2112, 2113, 2114, 2115, 2116, 2117, 2118, 2119, 2120, 2121, 2122, 2123, 2124, 2125, 2126, 2127, 2128, 2129, 2130, 2131, 2132, 2133, 2134, 2135, 2136, 2137, 2138, 2139, 2140, 2141, 2142, 2143, 2144, 2145, 2146, 2147, 2148, 2149, 2150, 2151, 2152, 2153, 2154, 2155, 2156, 2157, 2158, 2159, 2160, 2161, 2162, 2163, 2164, 2165, 2166, 2167, 2168, 2169, 2170, 2171, 2172, 2173, 2174, 2175, 2176, 2177, 2178, 2179, 2180, 2181, 2182, 2183, 2184, 2185, 2186, 2187, 2188, 2189, 2190, 2191, 2192, 2193, 2194, 2195, 2196, 2197, 2198, 2199, 2200, 2201, 2202, 2203, 2204, 2205, 2206, 2207, 2208, 2209, 2210, 2211, 2212, 2213, 2214, 2215, 2216, 2217, 2218, 2219, 2220, 2221, 2222, 2223, 2224, 2225, 2226, 2227, 2228, 2229, 2230, 2231, 2232, 2233, 2234, 2235, 2236, 2237, 2238, 2239, 2240, 2241, 2242, 2243, 2244, 2245, 2246, 2247, 2248, 2249, 2250, 2251, 2252, 2253, 2254, 2255, 2256, 2257, 2258, 2259, 2260, 2261, 2262, 2263, 2264, 2265, 2266, 2267, 2268, 2269, 2270, 2271, 2272, 2273, 2274, 2275, 2276, 2277, 2278, 2279, 2280, 2281, 2282, 2283, 2284, 2285, 2286, 2287, 2288, 2289, 2290, 2291, 2292, 2293, 2294, 2295, 2296, 2297, 2298, 2299, 2300, 2301, 2302, 2303, 2304, 2305, 2306, 2307, 2308, 2309, 2310, 2311, 2312, 2313, 2314, 2315, 2316, 2317, 2318, 2319, 2320, 2321, 2322, 2323, 2324, 2325, 2326, 2327, 2328, 2329, 2330, 2331, 2332, 2333, 2334, 2335, 2336, 2337, 2338, 2339, 2340, 2341, 2342, 2343, 2344, 2345, 2346, 2347, 2348, 2349, 2350, 2351, 2352, 2353, 2354, 2355, 2356, 2357, 2358, 2359, 2360, 2361, 2362, 2363, 2364, 2365, 2366, 2367, 2368, 2369, 2370, 2371, 2372, 2373, 2374, 2375, 2376, 2377, 2378, 2379, 2380, 2381, 2382, 2383, 2384, 2385, 2386, 2387, 2388, 2389, 2390, 2391, 2392, 2393, 2394, 2395, 2396, 2397, 2398, 2399, 2400, 2401, 2402, 2403, 2404, 2405, 2406, 2407, 2408, 2409, 2410, 2411, 2412, 2413, 2414, 2415, 2416, 2417, 2418, 2419, 2420, 2421, 2422, 2423, 2424, 2425, 2426, 2427, 2428, 2429, 2430, 2431, 2432, 2433, 2434, 2435, 2436, 2437, 2438, 2439, 2440, 2441, 2442, 2443, 2444, 2445, 2446, 2447, 2448, 2449, 2450, 2451, 2452, 2453, 2454, 2455, 2456, 2457, 2458, 2459, 2460, 2461, 2462, 2463, 2464, 2465, 2466, 2467, 2468, 2469, 2470, 2471, 2472, 2473, 2474, 2475, 2476, 2477, 2478, 2479, 2480, 2481, 2482, 2483, 2484, 2485, 2486, 2487, 2488, 2489, 2490, 2491, 2492, 2493, 2494, 2495, 2496, 2497, 2498, 2499, 2500, 2501, 2502, 2503, 2504, 2505, 2506, 2507, 2508, 2509, 2510, 2511, 2512, 2513, 2514, 2515, 2516, 2517, 2518, 2519, 2520, 2521, 2522, 2523, 2524, 2525, 2526, 2527, 2528, 2529, 2530, 2531, 2532, 2533, 2534, 2535, 2536, 2537, 2538, 2539, 2540, 2541, 2542, 2543, 2544, 2545, 2546, 2547, 2548, 2549, 2550, 2551, 2552, 2553, 2554, 2555, 2556, 2557, 2558, 2559, 2560, 2561, 2562, 2563, 2564, 2565, 2566, 2567, 2568, 2569, 2570, 2571, 2572, 2573, 2574, 2575, 2576, 2577, 2578, 2579, 2580, 2581, 2582, 2583, 2584, 2585, 2586, 2587, 2588, 2589, 2590, 2591, 2592, 2593, 2594, 2595, 2596, 2597, 2598, 2599, 2600, 2601, 2602, 2603, 2604, 2605, 2606, 2607, 2608, 2609, 2610, 2611, 2612, 2613, 2614, 2615, 2616, 2617, 2618, 2619, 2620, 2621, 2622, 2623, 2624, 2625, 2626, 2627, 2628, 2629, 2630, 2631, 2632, 2633, 2634, 2635, 2636, 2637, 2638, 2639, 2640, 2641, 2642, 2643, 2644, 2645, 2646, 2647, 2648, 2649, 2650, 2651, 2652, 2653, 2654, 2655, 2656, 2657, 2658, 2659, 2660, 2661, 2662, 2663, 2664, 2665, 2666, 2667, 2668, 2669, 2670, 2671, 2672, 2673, 2674, 2675, 2676, 2677, 2678, 26

(37:15.1218):

...háavo mwaánlopwáná mkhu áwe aarí awe hinámóona
 aux | <SR> | ncl

There was a friend of his whom he had not seen yet.

(This example shows that in relative constructions the subject relative marker, where present, is intruded between the auxiliary and the nucleus.)

There is a larger group of verbal lexemes commonly followed by the infinitive such as ophávela "search/want", opácera and okolókóca "start", olíkana "be the same in", otepa "go too far". It is tempting to regard constructions like this as a second type of verbal group, since the logical subject of the "auxiliary" is generally the same as that of the infinitive. However, it occasionally happens that some syntactic slots belong to the "auxiliary" rather than to the main verb, e.g.:

(38:15.946):

...opácera khalayi wuúlumaca nno
 O: [[i: P | A | O: [[i:P]] | d]]

To have started this speaking long ago.

where khalayi "long ago" clearly refers to the commencement of the activity rather than to the speaking which is still in progress.

Treating the "main" verb as an infinitival clause acting as object (in some sense) of the "auxiliary" means that we have two clauses (one rank-shifted), each with its own associated slots. This treatment is supported by the observation that infinitive may have a nominal modifier, as the demonstrative nno in the example (38) above, and is frequently commutable with a non-verbal nominal object, e.g.:

(39a:*):

Ophavela mkori
 "To want a bed"

vs

(39b:*):

Ophavela orupa
 "To want to sleep".

(We may note in passing that with constructions of this kind an infixed

object pronoun referring to the goal of the "main" verb may optionally be attached additionally to the "auxiliary", but never to the auxiliary alone, e.g.:

(40a:*):

O-kólókóca o-mú-úluma

(40b:*):

O-m-kólokóca o-mú-úluma

To start speaking about him.

but never (40c:*):

* O-m-kólokóca wuúluma.

In addition to verbal groups involving an auxiliary there are sometimes sequences of two verb-forms with the same lexical root, which we may refer to as "cognate echo". The second verb may be in the infinitive, or it may be based on predicative forms of the infinitive as in neera pwiraka. "he said saying", where the second verb is "situative" or "consecutive" - like. It seems most reasonable to regard the two verbs as belonging to a single verb group, with the second verb labelled ec"echo".

There are also some expressions that look on the surface like verbal groups, but which are best regarded as fixed expressions functioning as conjunctions or adjuncts, e.g., okhála wiira "since".

(41:15.790):

Masi okhála wiíra ahohímya áamáama
& | cj | P | S

'But since my mother said it.

6.6.2 Pro-verbal construction

Although strictly consisting of only a single verbal word, we have included here a number of non-finite constructions that may take the place of a finite verb, without any explicit subject concord.

The commonest type of pro-verbal construction consists of an infinitive, e.g.:

(42:15.99-100):

Alé akínáku ale owáaca wóókottháca yáale asílópwaná ale...
 ||:pv:S:d | h |d |P || pv: P+O | O:d |h |d
 The others [the old hands] came together, hit them
 those youngsters.

There are ^a/number of other expressions apparently based on predicative forms of the infinitive, which are especially used as consecutives, that is for actions that follow upon the action of a preceding finite verb, e.g.:

(43:15.749):

Ole hosómá khwííra...
 S | P || ctv+pv+Qt: P |
 He reflected and said.

The subject is expressed without agreement, e.g.:

(44:15.766):

Min khwííra...
 ||:ctv+pv+Qt:S | P |
 And I said.

(45:15.657)

Khwííra yenani wííra
 ||:ctv+pv+Qt:P | S | +P |
 And he said.

Where the infinitive wííra echoes khwííra. Although the construction is exceptionally common with wííra "to say", it may occur with any verb, e.g.:

(46:15.1343):

Khumlyaka pwe pwe
 ||:idph+ctv+pv: P | idph |
 And he smoked blowing out the smoke.

The examples above use the predicative particle khu-, but similar constructions with pi- and n- are equally common, and we find for example in the text:

pwííiraka
pwííiriyáka
khwííira
khwííiriya
khwííiriyáka

} "And he said or it was said"

7. THE STRUCTURE OF THE CLAUSE IN e-Sáaka

In this chapter we attempt to describe the e-Sáaka (e-Mákuwa) clause by looking at the ways in which nominal, verbal and other groups relate to each other as immediate constituents of the clause.

We first identify different categories of clauses according to different systems of features that each clause may exhibit (7.1). We then analyse the structure of the verbal clause in section 7.2 and other major clauses in 7.3. Section 7.4 discusses the internal structure of rank-shifted clauses and constructions such as cleft sentences that employ them, and 7.5 considers features of "minor" clauses.

7.1 CATEGORIES OF CLAUSE

There are a number of systems of features by which clauses may be distinguished and labelled. These features reflect variations in structural relations among the elements of each category of clause.

7.1.1 Categories of clause according to nucleus

Clauses may be differentiated according to features of the nucleus. Guthrie 1961 described as nucleus of a clause or sentence the irreducible core capable of standing alone as a complete utterance in a neutral initiating context.

Although there are some difficulties in this definition, as Guthrie himself recognised, in practice his term corresponds closely with what other writers such as Halliday 1970 have described as the predicate. The most frequent clause-type is the clause with a verbal nucleus; another common type has a nominal group (with predicative

inflection or intonation) acting as a subject complement without any supporting verb, and this has been described as a nominal clause; copulative clauses are similar, but have an overt verbal copula linking subject and complement; further, ideophonic clauses have their actions/events expressed by an ideophone either in addition to or in lieu of a verb. Minor clauses have no identifiable nucleus.

7.1.2 Categories of clause according to verbal subject concord

Clauses may also be categorised according to the reference of the subject. In the majority of clauses ("definite clauses"), the subject concord refers to subject (either explicitly expressed or in the context), or to a grammatical person. There are also "locative" clauses, which we have provisionally but perhaps unnecessarily distinguished, in which the subject concord is in a locative class (16-18) and refers to an expression of place which can be regarded as subject.

There are, however, a number of clauses where the verbal concord does not refer (at least explicitly) to any subject. These clauses are designated indefinite (marked indf.), and are realised by a nucleus with passive extension, the subject concord being either in class 7 or in a locative class (16-18). Commonly this type of clause occurs in narratives with wíra "do/say" introducing a quoted clause, e.g.:

(1:15.14):

E-néeriya: wé, mlopwána ncíná náa opami? (cl.7)
 One said: you, fellow, your name, who are you?
 (It was said)

A topicalised form of this construction, with a predicative form of a relative clause with a locative concord (cl.16), we have designated a "situative" clause, e.g.:

(2:15.180):

Pwánrowén'ya owáání n'we
That's when they went to the house.

See further the next section (7.1.3) and 7.4.3.

Pro-verbal constructions, in cases where there is no explicit subject may lend themselves to being categorised also as indefinite clauses, e.g.:

(3:15.164):

Wiiriya: Muúsa
It was said: "Muúsa". (Somebody said.)

7.1.3 Categories of rank-shifted and topicalised clauses

There are a number of categories of rank-shifted clauses in e-Saaka, for example quoted clauses, whose internal structure differs in no way from that of independent clauses. There are two categories, however, that need special attention: the infinitive clause (7.4.1) in which the subject is usually unexpressed and never formally marked and the relative clause (7.4.2) in which the subject concord is replaced by a relative concord agreeing with the antecedent, and the subject unless explicit represented by a special relative subject pronoun. (The construction is analogous to the "direct relative" (Doke [Bantu Linguistic Terminology] 1936) of many Bantu languages; there is no "indirect relative" in e-Saaka).

Certain topicalising constructions such as the cleft or pseudo-cleft sentences (7.4.3) and the situative mentioned in the previous section (7.1.2) also involve relative structures, but we have found it convenient to treat these as special categories of clause, allowing the nominalisation and rank-shifting to be implied by the clause feature label rather than indicating the rank-shifting explicitly in our textual annotations.

7.1.4 Categories of clause according to inter-personal function

Clauses may be classified according to the nature of the interaction with the listener intended by the speaker: the speaker may be informing the listener (declarative clauses), seeking information from the listener (interrogative clauses), requiring some action from the listener or some other person(s) (jussive clauses) or express the speaker's emotion reactions without necessary reference to the speaker (exclamative clauses).

We have marked clause "?" for interrogative, "!" for jussive, "excl" for exclamative, leaving declarative clauses unmarked.

Jussive clauses are marked by selection of a jussive conjugation (5.5.5)

for the predicate, e.g.:

(4:15.4):

Mwiiréké vamocá ni mín kuúkúsenrekéni
 ||| :!P | A ||& | T+S | P/e=apl/+0 |||
 Speak once more and then I'll take over from you.

Interrogative clauses are marked either by the presence of a question-word or morpheme (4.5.2.4), e.g.:

(5:15.141):

Wé mlopwána ncíná náa opani?
 You fellow, you name, who are you?,

or (for polar questions) by intonation, with an optional question tag

kahi, e.g.:

(6:15.3 3

Okunya onnócuwela wuúluma?
 Portuguese, can you speak [it]?

Exclamative clauses are marked by intonation, possibly with exclamatory particles such as khu "oh", maama "oh dear", íítaa "how nice!", e.g:

(7:15.1442):

...pi yáámala áttú éla!
 is this what was finishing people!

(Mhammati's wife surprised exclaims at seeing the snake.)

It appears also that clauses may simultaneously exhibit interrogative and exclamative features, e.g.:

(8:15.1468):

...mhm, hoséńlíya mthéńí owo!?

...oh, he is all right, the bridegroom!?

We have not pursued the correlation of features of clause structure with the inter-personal function with any delicacy, simply labelling the types as an aid to further study. An analysis of dialogue structure has also been included (see introduction to appendix) which is in some respects more delicate: declarative clauses are distinguished as informational/echo, initiating/response.

7.1.5 Categories of clause according to polarity.

It is possible to distinguish clauses on the basis of the polarity (affirmative/negative) of the predicate, although we have not pursued marking of clauses in this way. It would be necessary to distinguish negation using kha- and negation using -hi- (5.3.1.3) as in the latter case the negation is associated with some particular element in the clause (the "focus" of the negation, for want of a better term), and there are different constraints on the selection of verbal conjugation. It would be further necessary to distinguish "rhetorical" negatives, which are negative in form but convey a strong affirmative meaning, e.g.:

(9:15.18):

Ki-hi-nkóócuweláca cayi, kiyariyé ni ápáapa owúúlumáca

How should I not know much, I was born of an eloquent father

(i.e., Of course I know much, my father is an eloquent man).

7.1.6 Categories of clause according to the transitivity of the nucleus

There is clearly a correlation between transitivity features of the verbal nucleus and the syntactic slots found in the clause (5.1.2), this would naturally be expressed by treating transitivity as a feature

of the clause. We have, however, not attempted to classify either verbs or clauses according to transitivity features beyond marking the presence of certain verbal extensions which have implications for transitivity (5.2.0). How complex this might prove to be can be gauged from Whiteley (1968) or more dramatically from Hudson (1971).

7.2 THE STRUCTURE OF THE VERBAL CLAUSE

In this section we shall concentrate on clauses in which the predicate is a finite verb considering the different elements that enter into the structure of the clause and their relationship to the predicate. We defer until 7.3 nominal clauses and other types of finite clause, and until 7.4 relative and other rank-shifted clauses.

7.2.1 The subject

The relationship of subject and predicate is normally marked by a concordial morpheme in the predicate agreeing in class with the subject, e.g.:

(10:15.674):

Á-Mhámmati a-lokihaléní mcúrukhu mu
 ||| excl., S | P+O/? | O/r | L |||
 What good did Mr. Mhammati do with money here!

The subject may be represented by any category of nominal group, e.g:

(11:15.2138):

Waalé ola óla namóóva
 ||| S:[{r: P}] | d | d | P |||
 The one who came is scared,

or there may be no explicit subject, the concordial morpheme alone referring to the subject. There are some cases in which the item marked S (subject) does not show concordial relationship with the verb. This is the case when the place of the finite verb is taken by a pro-verbal infinitive, e.g.:

(12:15.99):

	Álé	akínáku	ale	owáaca	
	pv:S:	d	h	d	P
Those	others				came together

Such clauses are identified "pv". There are similarly locative clauses (identified "loc") where the predicate displays a locative concordial element in place of concord with the subject. The subject in such cases typically follows the predicate, e.g.:

(13:15.1106):

	Vahophíyá	mankhámó		anthéla	aka
	loc: P	S: h	m:[r: P	S]]	
The	time	has	come	for	me to marry.

With the majority of unextended (non-derived) verbs the subject is associated with the logical role of actor, but this is dependent on transitivity features of the verbal radical; in other cases it may be more appropriate to regard the subject as attributee or perhaps patient. For instance:

(14:15.453):

	Horówa		óle	mkúnya	ole	(subj.: actor)
	P	S/r=act:	d	h	d	
The	boss	went.				

(15:*):

	Mwaána	homéla	meéno	
:	S/r=act	P	O/ref.	
The	child	has	its first	dentition.
(Literally, "The child has germinated teeth".)				

Where the verb has a passive morpheme, the subject may assume the role of goal or various other roles which it has proved difficult to classify at this stage of our studies, e.g.:

(16:*):

	emánká	ehorúkúlíya	[ni Mhámmati]
	S/r=gl	P/e=ps	Ag:pp h
"The	mango	has been	picked" [by Mhammati].

Similarly with the causative extensions, the subject represents the role of initiator or causator (csr), e.g.:

(17:*):

amwáalímu	ahéépiha	asáana	ecípo
S/r=csr	P/e=cs	O ₁ /r=act	O ₂ /r=gl

The teacher made the children sing songs,

where the role of actor is represented by the primary object.

7.2.2 The object

The relationship between the object and the predicate is morphologically marked only when the object is in gender 1/2. This consists of an insertion of an infix object co-referent in the predicate, e.g.:

(18:15.803):

Nnámw-á-fhana (-> nnámwééhana) amayí enyu
 We shall call your mother.

Where the class 2 co-referent -á- agrees with the object amayi enyu "your mother".

The insertion of the infix co-referent is obligatory even in the presence of the object.

Certain verbal radicals have ditransitive (Quirk et al., 1978) features (i.e., require more than one object) and in these cases the object may be designated according to its position in relation to the predicate as "primary object" (O₁) secondary object (O₂), e.g.:

(19:*):

Mkunya	ho-m-máha	Mhámmati	eefeériya
S	P+O	O ₁	O ₂

The boss gave Mhammati holiday leave.

Comparable ditransitivity is found with certain extended radicals such as those with the applicative extension, e.g.:

(20:*):

Amwáára	aMhámmati	a-ho-mw-áápeéla	mlétto	mathápa
S: h	m:[g:pp h]	P/e=app/+O ₁	O ₁	O ₂

Mhammati's wife cooked food for the guest,

or with causative extension, e.g.:

(21:*):

Amwáárá a Mhámmati a-ho-m-pwésiha mwaána mwaápu
 ||| S: h | m: [g] | P/e=cs/+0₁ | 0₁ | 0₂ | |||
 Mhammati's wife made the child break the pot.

In such cases it is the primary object (the "beneficiary" in the case of the applicative, the actor in the case of the causative) that agrees with the object co-referent where appropriate.

In other constructions that appear to involve two objects the order of objects is indeterminate, although one object appears to control agreement with the object co-referent rather than the other, e.g.:

(22a:*):

Nihórósa ho-mú-nta mwétto mwalápwa
 ||| S | P+O | O/rf | O |||

or

(22b:*):

Nihórósa ho-mú-nta mwalápwa mwétto
 ||| S | P+O | O | O/rf |||
 Mr. Nihorosa broke the dog's leg. (Literally, "Nihorosa broke leg dog (or dog leg)"),

where the co-referent -mú- agrees with mwalápwa "dog" (class 1) rather than mwétto "leg" (class 3). In this case we treat mwétto as an "object of reference" (O/rf) although we have possibly been applying the term a bit too freely.

Another example which is perhaps to be similarly regarded involved the instrumental use of the -EL- extension, e.g.:

(23a:*):

Amwáárá a Mhammati aheévela nthálé enówa
 ||| S: h | m [g] | P | O/rf | O |||
 Mhammati's wife killed a snake with a bamboo stick.

Where the given order is normal, but may be inverted, and where it is the goal enówa "the snake" that would control object concord if replaced by a personified or class 1/2 object, e.g.:

(23b:*):

Amwáára a Mhámmati ahéévela nthale áthhóóro
 ||| S: h | m:[g] | P+O | O/rf | O |||
 Mhammati's wife killed the rats with a bamboo stick.

We have attempted to distinguish different transitivity roles played by the object. In the common case, which we have left unmarked, the object functions as a "goal". In the other cases such as those exemplified above refer to the object of reference. Another example:

(24:15.55):

Héná etorópá wúu...
 ||| P | O/rf | L |||
 He went through the army drills.

Another case is that of the purposive object, e.g.:

(25:15.89):

...howííhiya ocekecééke
 P/e=cs+ps | O/ppv |||
 He was brought for his beginning of the army training.

where ocekecééke is the object of purpose. This may also occur with the "rational" use of the -EL- extension, e.g.:

(26:15.514)

Kaawéélale omkopa palísi
 ||| P/e=rat. | O/ppv: [[i:P+O | O]] |||
 I came to buy maize-flour on credit",

where the object expresses purpose ("the reason for my coming is to buy maize-flour on credit"). We might also substitute a common noun such as maási "(for) water" for the infinitival clause omkopa palísi "to buy maize-flour on credit".

It appears that any nominal group that can occur in the subject slot can occur equally in the object slot, with the possible exception of locative nominal groups which are generally treated as adjuncts but may function as object after a limited number of verbs such as ocuwela "to know", e.g.:

(27:*):

Mhāmmati nāācuwela mpāani mwaāmáathí awe mootéene
 ||| S: | P | O:l:h | m:[g:pp h] | m | m |||
 Mhammati knows inside out the house of his mother-in-law, |||

or ophwanya "to find", e.g.:

(28:*):

Vapuwāni kiphwanyalé vanárúpiye
 ||| O: | P | OC: [[:P/e=ps]] |||
 I found (at) the house when all were sleeping

There are certain circumstances in which an object slot can be filled with a rank-shifted clause in a way that does not occur in subject position. We discussed in 6.6.1 the case of verbs such as ophavela "to want" which can be followed equally by a nominal object or an infinitival clause, they may also be followed by a subjunctive clause, e.g.:

(29:*):

Kimphávéla mwaána hunle
 ||| P | O: [[S P]] |||
 I want the child not to cry.

Similarly the quoted speech (logically regarded as rank-shifted discourse) that follows verbs such as wiíra could be treated as a special type of object, but in this case we have found it more convenient to set up a distinct slot Q ("quotation").

7.2.3 The complement

We have distinguished from the object the subject complement that occurs after certain copulative verbs, e.g.:

(30:15.25):

Yóola mwaánlopwána ola... eéhāniya Mhāmmati
 ||| S: d | h | d | P/e=ps | SC |||
 This very young man was called Mhāmmati,

(31:15.254):

Olííí ola onkhálá mmoca...
 ||| S: h | d | P | SC |||
 The bed was the only one.

7.2.4 The adjunct

The element of clause structure we have designated adjunct is filled by nominal groups expressing the attendant circumstances under which the action, event or state of affairs expressed by the predicate takes place. Though we have not exhaustively categorised the adjuncts we have identified adjuncts expressing locativisation (which we have marked L), and also recognised adjuncts expressing time and manner.

Like other elements of clause structure, the adjunct may have a relative freedom of movement, and this with certain kinds of adjuncts may effect different nuances in meaning, e.g.:

(36a:15.1171):

...Kináawa macúwá oóthékuwa ála...
 P | A:h | m: [[gi:P]] | d
 I shall come this afternoon.

Compare to (36b:*):

Macúwá oóthékuwa ála kináawa
 This afternoon I shall come,

where (36b) may be interpreted as expressing stronger probability and excluding any other time, while (36a) remains purely intentional as far as time is concerned.

Locative adjuncts are most commonly expressed by locative classes 16-18, e.g.:

(37:15.34):

Masi aakháláka wiiráti (cl.17)
 ||| & | P | L |||
 As a matter of fact he was living in Erati

There are also some words with an inherent locative sense such as eríyari "in the middle".

(38:15.207)

...mookóméke eríyari ela éla
 P | L:h | d | d |||
 Please sit in the middle.

Temporal adjuncts may be expressed by temporal words, class 5 demonstrative selectors or temporal *msxa* of cl. 16, e.g.

(39:15.95)

Maána etorópa yiih akenlé naánaano
 ||| & | L | <U> | P | A/tm |||
 For as for the army, Oh they got in recently.

(40:*):

Amwáára aka nénne nénne khaanálya
 ||| S: h | m | A/tm:d | d | P |||
 My wife ever since she has not eaten.

Adjuncts of manner are commonly represented by nominal groups with the proclitic *ni* "with" or in class 16, e.g.:

(41:15.529):

Masi arowalé ni ecuku vále
 ||| & | P | A/mn: pp | h | A/tm |||
 But he left with resentment at that [moment].

(42:15.80-82)

váo mkolókóceke wuúlúmáca voóréérésa va
 & | P | O: [[i' P | A/mn: [[a:P]] | d]] |||
 Then start speaking in a very beautiful manner.

Ideophones have been treated as a distinct category, and are discussed under 7.3.3.

In some contexts it becomes rather difficult to decide whether certain morphologically adjunct-like elements are to be treated as adjuncts or objects, as in the underlined words in the following examples:

(43:15.8):

Mwiiréké vamocá ni mín kuúkúsenrekéni
 ||| P | O/(A?) || & S P/e=app/+O |||
 Do (or say) one (more) time and I will take over from you.

(44:15.771):

Ahówá ápáapá awe ahokihímeérya cicammo
 ||| P | S:h | m || P/e=app/+O | O/(A?) |||
 There came his father and told me the same [thing].

7.2.5 The agentive

E-Sáaka makes extensive use of the passive verbal extension, usually leaving the actor unexpressed. The actor may, however, be expressed by a nominal group with proclitic ni "by", e.g.:

(45:15.18):

Kihinkóócuwelaca cayi, Kiyariyé ni ápáapa owúúlumáca
 |||:?:P | A/? ||:P/e=ps | Ag:pcl | h | m:[[gi:P]] |||
 How would I not know much, I was born of an eloquent father
 (where pcl stands for proclitic).

7.2.6 The topic

The topic (T) is a label applied to the "psychological subject" of a clause, which may coincide with the grammatical subject, or with some other grammatical slot, or may have no formal connection with the structure of the clause. It is (necessarily) the first element of the clause apart from linking elements (conjunctives) although there may occasionally be two or more successive topics preceding the clause, e.g.:

(46:15.701):

ÁMhámmati enkóókhúma meélo mwiikikohe
 ||| T | O: [[r:P | A/tm]] | P+O |||
 As for Mr. Mhammati what will happen tomorrow do not ask me

(47:15.900)

Mín khahi ikoóntha caka
 ||| T | P:cpl | h | m |||
 As for me it is none of my business.

In a language like e-Mákhúwa with relatively free word order it is often tempting to mark as topic any element shifted to the front of the clause irrespective of its grammatical function, e.g.:

(48:15.424):

...palísí ola óla ohimkopihe
 T+O | P/e=cs/+O |||
 This maize-flour don't sell it on credit.

In practice we have been sparing of the label T, using it only when the grammatical connection with the clause structure is indirect (as in 47)

or non-existent (as in 46), or when a personal pronoun is used contrastively, e.g.:

(49:15.3):

Mín, paápá, akinóóceya
 ||| S+T | <V> | P |||
 Me, father, I am still not tired.

7.2.7 The vocative and other extra-structural elements

The vocative may be regarded in certain contexts as logically (and perhaps structurally) related to at least the subject slot such as when the vocative and subject/actor have the same referent in the clause, e.g.:

(50:15.1):

Paápa khannóóeeya?
 ||| V+S | P |||
 Father, are you still not tired?

(51:15.184-186):

Attóóttho... nkarowéní wónno
 ||| V+S | P | L |||
 Darling, please come here,

where the vocative is also the subject of the clause. In these cases we have marked V+S.

In many cases however the vocative has no structural relation with the clause, and it is convenient to regard it in a similar fashion to other unstructured (and often interpolated) items that register hesitations or monitor attention or assent between speaker and listener; if removed from the clauses in which they appear, they do not affect the cohesion, grammaticality and acceptability of the clause. In such cases we have labelled the vocative <V> and unstructured elements <U>. Examples:

(52:15.3):

Mín, paápá, akinóóceya
 ||| S | <V> | P |||
 As for me, father, I am still not tired.

(53:15.1370):

Paápá, panééra aya ocápa kuún
 ||| <V> | P/aux. | S | P/ncl | idp |||
 Father, that is when she farted pooh.

(54:15.5):

Mhu, paápá, nnámwiń'wánáná khweeli
 ||| <U> | <V> | P/e=rcp | A/mn |||
 Right, father, we understand one another perfectly.

7.3 THE STRUCTURE OF OTHER TYPES OF MAJOR CLAUSE

7.3.1 Copulative clause structure

The copulative clause can be regarded as a "subclass" of the verbal clause (Maw 1969) in which the predicate slot is filled by one of the members of a limited paradigm of copulative conjugations. The clauses in question have been marked cpl, but the distinction is perhaps unnecessary.

There are three forms of the copula in e-Sáaka which may be referred to as attributive, existential and associative.¹ In the attributive form there is a subject and subject complement (7.2.3), e.g.:

(55:*):

Mthúpí wa átáata waarí woottéela
 ||| :cpl:S | P | SC |||
 My uncle's cock was white.

(56:15.254):

Olílfí ola onkhálá mmoca
 ||| :cpl:S | P | SC |||
 The bed was [only] one.

The existential forms are intransitive though there may be a locative adjunct, e.g.:

(57:15.678-80):

Én'wo ohittó n'wo n'wo erí eloôca
 |||:cp1:L | P | S |||
 Down over there there is a shop.

Finally the associative form as in

(58:*):

Átáata áwe Mhámmati aháana èloóca piili
 |||:cp1:S | P | O |||
 Mhammati's father-in-law has two shops.

might appear to be transitive, but the "object" is never represented by an object co-referent and the copula has no passive form.

7.3.2 Nominal clause structure

A clause in which a nominal group is acting as a subject complement without verbal support is designated nominal clause. We have labelled these clauses nom and the nominal predicate *S to differentiate it from the subject complement in copulative clauses. Predication may be marked either tonally or segmentally. In the first case the head of the nominal group changes its first underlying high tone to low (3.5), e.g.:

(59:15.71):

...cekecèeke vǎ
 |||:nom: *S | A |||
 He is a beginner at that moment.

(60:15.361):

Mwaánttétthe ene ówo asímúcí áya ootéene ànátála
 ||| L | S | *S |||
 In the whole region all his family were hunger sufferers.

Compare cekecèeke "a beginner" and ánátála "hunger sufferers" respectively, where the tone corresponds to that in non-predicative position.

In the second case the nominal group is preceded by a copula-like stabiliser (Guthrie 1961) pi/ti (see last column in Table 4.5) and

the tone of the head may sometimes change under circumstances that have not been fully investigated, e.g.:

(61a:15.459):

Awaalé pi amáyí awe
 |||:nom: S | *S:cpl | h |||
 The person who came is his mother

Compare:

(61b:*):

Pi amáyí awe
 |||:nom: *S:cpl | h |||
 It is his mother

(where the tone in amáyí awe does not change from that found in non-predicative position).

(62:15.11)

Ni áthhú pi owaákhélána
 |||:nom: & | S | *S:cpl | h: [[i:p/e=rcp]] |||
 Indeed, people ought to be helpful to each other.

In the nature of the kind of predicate, this type of clause has peculiar transitivity features, most of them shared with the copulative clauses such as non-passivisation, lack of object. (However, compare the "object of reference" in

(63:15.141)

Wé mlopwána ncíná náa opani?
 |||:nom <V> | OR | *S |||
 You fellow, what is your name (Your name, you are who?)

7.3.3 Ideophonic clause structure

In e-Sáaka the action or process of a clause may be expounded by a verbal predicate, by an ideophonic expression or by both. We have already discussed verbal clauses in 7.2. Where the process is expounded by a verbal and/or an ideophone we have labelled such clauses ideophonic clauses which we exemplify below.

- (i) Ideophonic clauses in which the process is expounded by a verb and an ideophone may be distinguished into three types according

to the kind of relationship the verbal and the ideophone entertain:

- (a) The ideophone is introduced by a dummy verbal predicate, usually wiira ("the leader", Guthrie 1961, or the quotative) e.g.:

(64:15.498-499):

Yiiráká : wuyú, átáatá awe...ewaáká vá vale
 ||:idp: P | Idp ||:S | P | L |||
 No sooner had she gone 'up and away' than his uncle
 came over there.

- (b) The ideophone is introduced by a cognate lexical radical, e.g.:

(65:15.966)

Ipháa n'ye cihohíránáca n'ye hiranacó
 ||:idp: S | P | +S | Idp |||
 The holes sealed up completely.

- (c) The ideophone is introduced by a verb only logically related, e.g.:

(66:15.1355)

Hatá vanlíyalíya ocapíyaka puún
 ||: <U> | A: [[x+loc:P]] || ctv+idp: P/e=ps | Idp |||
 To the point when one may forget and fart phew!

In these three cases it would be possible to regard the ideophones not as a special slot in the structure of the clause, but as analogous to the quotative object (ex.64) or adjunct of manner (exs.65-6).

- (ii) What we have just said above does not, however, hold in the second type of ideophonic clauses in which the process is expounded solely by the ideophonic expression. This type of construction is stylistically more vivid and dynamic than the process expounded by a verbal or a verbal and ideophone, e.g.:

(67:15.1399ff):

...Pwáváralé awe mrú ole yéele etthú enkhúméla ele
 |||:stv : P | S | O | + O || idp
 ttu wuru wuru wuru ttuphú
 Idp ||-idp: Id || idp: Idp |||
 That is when he grabbed the head [of] that thing that was coming
 out wallop!, saw!, saw!, saw!, chop!

The ideophone may also expound the process in a rank-shifted clause,

e.g.:

(68:15.357):

Ámáyí aya anaaphwánya tokhùù etála
 |||: O | P+O | OC: [[idp:Idp | OR/cs]] |||
 His mother, he found her immobilised by hunger.

If we were to follow the course contemplated above and treat ideophones as adjuncts of manner, the last three clauses of example 67 above would have to be regarded as minor clauses, lacking in predication. Intuitively this seems wrong, and it seems preferable to see predication in e-Mákuwa as a composite that potentially includes both verbal and ideophonic elements.

7.4 RANK-SHIFTED CLAUSES

7.4.1 Infinitive clause and its internal structure

The infinitive clause differs in structure from finite verbal clauses in that usually there is no subject, or, when present, there is no formal marking of relationship between the subject and the predicate, e.g.:

(69:15.699):

...Otthúkíya okíwéreyá
 |||: S: [[i: P/e=ps]] | P |||
 To be arrested is painful to me.

where the implied subject of otthúkíya (the speaker) is unexpressed.

In the following example the subject nyu of the infinitive clause is simply juxtaposed (other slots remain as for finite verb clauses), e.g.:

(70:15.102):

...nyú waáháwaláca asáára ehun owáani
 |||:nom+?: S:[i:S | P | O | L] |
 owóóníttíkuwélá nno eseeni nyu?
 +S:[i: P+O | L] | *S | <V> |||
 You [guys] having sex with our wives at home and coming here to
 gloat over us is for what, you [guys].

This complex nominal clause has two rank-shifted infinitive clauses at the subject slot. We may observe in the first infinitive clause as many as four syntactic slots: the subject: nyu "you", the predicate: waáháwaláca "to have sex with them", the object: asáára ehun "our wives", and locative adjunct: owáani "at home".

The rank-shifted infinitive clause may fill the subject slot as in 69-70 or the object slot especially with certain kinds of verbal radicals, whose transitivity features require an infinitive (6.6.1), e.g.:

(71:15.80)

Vańó mkolókóceke wuúlúmaca
 |||::& | P | O:[i:P] |||
 Then start talking.

The infinitive clause may also occupy a modifier slot in a nominal group, such as in the infinitivo-genitival nominal groups, e.g.:

(72:15.86):

Khanákhuménǎ mkhú ehun va oónívikana
 |||:: P | S | <L> | +S:m:[gi:P+O] |||
 There has not appeared a rival of ours who can surpass us.

In these cases we have analysed the infinitivo-genitival nominal group as [[gi:P]] for the sake of simplicity; strictly it would have to be analysed as [g:pp | h:[i:P]], where | represents a morpheme boundary.

Infinitive clauses may also be found at the adjunct slot with preceding locative marker, in which case we have labelled them a (locative infinitival adjunct), e.g.:

(73:15.80-2):

Vańo mkolókóceke wuúlumáca voóreerésa váa
 |||: & |P |O |A:[a:P]| d |||
 Then start talking in a very delightful manner.

(The simplification of analysis in [[a:P]] is parallel to that of [[gi:P]].

7.4.2 The relative clause and its internal structure

The relative clause differs from the non-relative ones in that that place of subject co-referent is taken by a relative prefix (4.5.1) agreeing with the antecedent. There is no construction in e-Sáaka analogous to the indirect relative of many Bantu languages.² There are, however, small differences in structure according to whether the antecedent functions within the relative clause as subject or in some other role.

(i) Relative clauses with subject as antecedent

Where the antecedent functions as subject within the relative clause, there is maximum cohesion between antecedent and relative verb (i.e., no other slot can be intruded between); otherwise there are no significant differences between the structure of the relative clause and that of a finite verbal clause, e.g.:

(74:15.267)

...Yáale mahúkú mararu aviralé ale
 |||: A: d | h | m | m:[r:P]| d |
 Those three days that passed (i.e., three days later).

(75:*)

Yóole mwaanlopwána wihalé makháká mkaáróni ncańá ole
 ||| S | m:[r:P] O | A | A]| d |
 The young man who brought dry cassava in the car yesterday.

(ii) Relative clauses with oblique antecedent

An antecedent which has a role in the relative clause other than subject has been designated oblique and in this case the subject is expressed by a relative subject co-referent suffixed to the verb and/or by a following nominal group. Examples:

(76:*):

Enupa etekalé awe ehoñnuwa
 ||| :: O | m:[[r:P | S]] | P |||
 The house that he built is big.

(77:*):

Nihúkú nnowá Mhammati ntivela
 ||| :: A | m:[[r:P | S]] | *S |||
 The day that Mhammati comes is Saturday.

(78:*):

Vamwaákó varelalé awe saáka khavanovíriya
 ||| :: L | m:[r+loc:P | S] | +S | P |||
 At the mountain where an eagle has laid his eggs is impossible
 to pass through.

There is maximum cohesion between the predicate and the relative subject co-referent or the nominal groups functioning as subjects. Other slots remain as infinite verbal clauses; there is no formal means of indicating the role of the antecedent within the relative clause.

7.4.3 Cleft and situative clauses

The structures considered in this section are not altogether new, being compounded from structures already considered, but it is convenient to identify them separately in order to simplify the structural annotation.

Clefting is a device for topicalising or focusing one element of a clause structure by making the focus predicative and the remainder of the clause relative with the focus as antecedent, the resulting

structure is termed a cleft sentence (Quirk et al., 1973). There are two varieties of this structure (cleft and pseudo-cleft) according to whether (relative) predicate follows or precedes the focus.

Cleft sentences are especially common with the absolute personal pronouns and with the interrogatives pani "who", vayi "where", cayi "how", etc. In the examples that follow we have offered first a full structural annotation in terms of structures, and then a simplified annotation where the clause descriptor cft/pscft (cleft/pseudo-cleft) implies that the element with the additional descriptor F (focus) is a predicative nominal and the remainder of the clause is in relative form.

(79:15.1438):

...Elá etthú ela ti nyú mkumiihale
 |||:nom:O: d | d | d | *S:cpl | h | S:[r:P/e=cs]] |||
 |||:cft:O | S+F | P |||
 This thing it is you who brought it about. |||

(80:*):

Tipani waale owááni n'wo?
 |||:nom: *S:cpl | h | S:[r:P | L: h | d]] |||
 |||:cft: S+F | P | L |||
 Who is it that came to the house? |||

(81:15.815):

...aMhámmati eseeni epakalé aya váa
 |||:nom: T | *S | S:[r/a=g:P | S | A |] |||
 |||:cft: S | O+F | P | A |||
 What is it that Mr. Mhammati has done? |||

(82:15.459):

Awaalé pi amayí awe
 |||:nom: S:[r:P] | *S:cpl | h | m |||
 |||:pscft: P | S+F |||
 The person who came is his mother.

There is another peculiar type of topicalising clause that we have designated situative clause and consists of a relative in which the antecedent is class 16 prefix va/wa with an inherent temporal use

(4.5.3.5.1) and the subject is expressed either by a nominal group and/or by its corresponding relative subject co-referent. This type of clause focuses on the time when an event takes place (8.1.3). Formally it looks like a cleft sentence with a temporal locative head, and functionally it is akin to narrative consecutive pro-verbal constructions. The clause descriptor stv (situative) implies that the P will be relative in form with predicative linking co-referent in class 16, and that the subject S will immediately follow the predicate as in a relative clause or be represented by the relative subject co-referent, e.g.:

(83:15.643):

Pwanomkúmihá awe sikáro...
 |||:stv: P/e=cs/+0 | S | O
 That is when he took out cigarettes...

(84:15.785):

Pwanééháníya áMhámmati
 |||:stv: P/e=ps | S |||
 That is when Mr. Mhámmati was summoned.

7.5 MINOR CLAUSES

We have characterised as minor clauses broadly those that have no identifiable nucleus (7.1.1). Such clauses typically occur in non-initiating contexts, and a predicate can be "supplied" from what is given, either from the verbal or situational context. In the examples below we have included in square brackets the predicate that could be supplied, and in the structural annotations, elements present in the clause may be labelled according to their function relative to the supplied predicate.

Minor clauses may occur as a comment on what has been said, e.g.:

(85:15.1569):

Cómmo vá [péérácale aya]
That is it [what happened],

or as a response to a question, e.g.:

(86:15.166-7):

Okháláka vayi? — Mín wiiráti [kinokhála]
You live where — I [live] in Erati,

or in the successive questions of an interrogation, e.g.:

(87:15.147-151):

Ámayí aa paapani?...ápáapá ennyú [paapani]?
Who is your mother?...Your father [is who]?

NOTES

1 - There is a suppletive paradigm of copulative conjugations built on three distinct lexical roots, set out below (with the derived existential and associative forms):

attributive ("to be")	existential ("to be somewhere")	associative ("to be with/to have")
-rí	-rivó	-riná
	-háavo	-háana
o-khála	o-khála	o-khálana

-rí and its compounds are found only in focusing constructions, while -háavo and -háana are found in non-focusing constructions (an opposition similar to that between strong and weak conjugations); -rivó and -háavo as well as -riná and -háana are, therefore, in suppletive conjugation.

O-khala and o-khalana behave as normal verbs and may be conjugated with all tense/aspect morphemes covering thus the gaps that cannot be filled by the two copulae. Thus in the example:

(151:254):

0lílí	ola	onkhálá	mmoca
:cpl: S:h	d	P	SC

The bed was [only] one.

we might replace onkhala with orí but, although they both are in focusing construction, there would be a difference in aspectual meaning, for orí would imply a transitory state that could soon be altered while onkhala expresses a permanent state.

2 - In some Bantu languages there have been distinguished two types of relative construction:

i) Direct relative:

Features:

- a) The verbal displays concord with the antecedent
- b) There is cohesion between the antecedent and the direct relative verb-form, that is, no element can be interposed.
- c) Commonly, but not necessarily, the antecedent is the logical subject of the direct relative clause. (as a result the direct relative is sometimes called the "subject relative" in the literature).

ii) Indirect relative:

Features:

- a) The verbal does not necessarily display concord with the antecedent.
- b) Other words (e.g., noun phrase representing subject) may appear between antecedent and verb.
- c) There is commonly a linking word ("relative pronoun") appearing between antecedent and relative word.
[Lyndon Harries, 1957, calls it a "performative"],
M. Mann 1982, p.c.

8. CLAUSE RELATIONSHIPS AND COMPLEX SENTENCE STRUCTURE IN e-Sáaka

After describing the internal constituents of the clause and their attributes in Chapter 7, the present chapter is concerned with the relationship between clauses within the sentence. Single-clause sentences (or simple sentences) provide no material for this, and are not further considered.

Halliday distinguishes "two basic types of [complex] structure, the multi-variate and the univariate" (Halliday 1983, Maw 1969/1974), the former involving a succession of unlike elements (in this case clauses), the latter a succession of like elements. It is not easy to determine what constitutes "like" and "unlike" in clause-categories, and we find it easier to distinguish the status of clauses in relation to the notion of "dependence". Independent clauses are capable of standing by themselves in one-clause sentences. The relationship between two or more successive independent clauses is one of co-ordination, which is considered in section 8.1. Dependent clauses are not capable of such independent use, and are only possible in combination with another clause to which they are said to be subordinate; subordinate clauses are the subject of section 8.2. There may sometimes exist between two clauses some mutual structural constraints, e.g., on the choice of conjugation which we may describe as a relationship of interdependence. Cases of this kind have not been separately examined, but are included within section 8.2.

Co-ordination and subordination describe the relationship between two clauses, rather than any absolute clause status. Thus, there may be

two co-ordinate clauses jointly subordinate to a third clause, or a clause subordinate to another which is itself subordinate to a third.

In our structural annotations we have not adopted any symbol for subordination, but it is implied by the different functional labels adopted for different categories of subordinate clauses, such as *end:conditional subordinate clause*, *csl:causal subordinate clause*.

8.1 CO-ORDINATION AND EXPONENTS OF CO-ORDINATION

Co-ordinate relationship between clauses may be marked by an explicit linking element, or characterised by intonation or pause that is not readily reflected in transcription, or be unmarked. Markers of co-ordination, while they may mark the relationship of clauses within a sentence, may also be used to mark relationship between sentences, that is, the organisation of sentences in the discourse.

8.1.1 Consecutive co-ordination

Consecutive co-ordination is characterised by the selection of particular conjugations to represent successive events. The principal conjugation involved is the pro-verbal consecutive conjugation described in

6.6.2, e.g.:

(1:15.1346-8):

Pwántthúkúla	awe	ecanélá	ele	vale	khwóókoma
stv: P	S	O	L	ctv: P	
cicammwe					
A					

Then he opened the window there and sat down as before.

Here it is the second clause only that is marked as consecutive. In the next example the first verb is also consecutive, but is *picking up* the action of the story after an aside (*ole* is a resumptive anaphoric), e.g.:

(2:15.1535):

Ólè khúrowaka wón'wé nkela ákhalaka wónw'we
 ||| ctv: S | P | L ||| ctv:P | L |||
 And him, he left and went to fix residence over there.

There are cases where the consecutive conjugation marks temporal succession even though the preceding clause is dependent on the clause with the consecutive, e.g.:

(3:15.29)

Vánó yeeriya: Mhámmati yéná pwííraka:
 ||| ctv:A | <<ctg: >> | S | P |
 Then, if/when one said: Mhammati he [consequently] would say:

Consecutive sequence within a dependent temporal clause may be marked by the -AKA conjugation, e.g.:

(4:15.390-1):

Nééhaniye arowáká wóowu eneériya:
 ||| tmp:P ||| tmp+ctv: P | L | P |
 When he was called and went there they said:

Consecutive co-ordination may also be expressed by non-overt exponents. This is the case where following events are expressed by a finite verb form or a pro-verb.

(5a:15.1311):

Pwánrówa awe oloóca hothúmaca cényé,
 ||| stv:P | S | L ||| P | O |||
 howííhá hoókómána.
 || P || P |||
 That is when he went to the shop, bought those very things,
 brought them and sat down with them.

Pro-verbally, one could have the same sequence expressed as follows:

(5b:*):

Pwánrówa awe oloca, othúmaca cén'ye, owííha, woókómána
 stv: || pv:

8.1.2 Parallel co-ordination

Parallel co-ordination is a co-ordinate structure in which two clauses with closely parallel structures are linked together to express concomitant events. In the first example below, the clauses are

identical apart from an antonym, in the second a demonstrative is used in two identical clauses but with different reference, e.g.:

(6:15.244):

Onkélá aka akincúwélá onkhúmá aka akincuwela
 |||prl: || prl: |||
 There where I go I don't know, there where I come from I don't know.

(7:15.43):

...ñnó háavo Mhámmatí ñnó háavo Mhámmati
 prl: || prl: |||
 there there was Mhammati, there there was [another] Mhammati.

8.1.3 Additive co-ordination

By additive co-ordination we refer to co-ordination explicitly marked by a conjunction ni "and", e.g.:

(8:15.1222):

Ni ola nno....hophiya....waámwéétti awe n'we
 |||: & | S | P | L |||
 And this one here has arrived at his hostess's.

(where ni links a series of events integrated into a single scenario).

Ni may also link clauses in which one is regarded as sequential in terms of the time of event. In this sense it may be translated as "then".

(9:15.8):

Mwiiréké vamocá ni mín kuúkúsenrekéni
 |||:P | A ||:& | S | P |||
 Carry on once more and/(then) I will take over from you.

8.1.4 Adversative and disjunctive co-ordination

Adversative co-ordination confronts two adverse events in parallel co-ordination, e.g.:

(10:*):

Ewé ehiwé hin ninámwínna ikómá n'yo
 |||:prl:P || prl:P ||:
 Whether he comes or not we will dance.

Disjunctive co-ordination, on the other hand, links two or more clauses each of which expresses a state of affairs contradictory to each other. This type of co-ordination may be expressed by the loan-word masi "but" (cf. Portuguese: mas "but"), e.g.:

(11:15.529):

...masi arowalé ni ecuku vále
||: & | P | A | A |||
...but she left with resentment,

(where masi links events such as Mhammati's relative leaving the shop resentfully because Mhammati did not want to sell maize-flour on credit).

8.1.5 "Episodic" co-ordination

We have used the term "episodic co-ordination" (or "discourse punctuation") to cover devices that close one sequence of narrated events and open the way to another series. Episodic co-ordination may be marked in one of the following ways:

- (i) by the situative construction (7.4.3), e.g.:

(12:15.174):

Pwánrówa awe ole
||| stv:P | S | +S |||
That is when he left (and he left).

(After the commander had interviewed the two Mhammatis he told them that he withdrew what he wanted to say to them (1.172), after which he left.)

- (ii) by the temporal adjunct vano "then". Clauses with vano may alternate with the situative construction, but there is a slight difference between the two choices, e.g.:

(13a:15.545):

Váno ohorówárówén'ya
|||:tmp:A | P |||
Then off they all went.

This would differ from:

(13b:*):

Pwánrówárówen'ya aya
That is when off they all went

inasmuch as the expression marks the immediacy in sequence and the former does not necessarily imply immediate following of the event, but marks sequentiality.

- (iii) indefinite verb forms and pro-verbal expressions may also express episodic co-ordination, e.g.:

(14a:15.331):

Eneériya orowééké owáani
He was told: you may go home.

(After he had finished his army duties, Mhammati from Erati was dismissed.) This example could be alternatively expressed by a pro-verbal construction, e.g.:

(14b:*):

Wiiriya: orowééké owáani
He was told: you may go home.

8.2 CATEGORIES OF SUBORDINATION AND THEIR EXPONENTS

8.2.1 Contingential subordination

Contingential subordination is a broad term covering constructions in which the action of the dependent clause is either a condition for or precedes the action of the main ("consequential") clause (5.5.2), in other words, both conditional and some temporal constructions. The constructions are discussed below according to the conjugation of the contingential clause.

(i) -ná—ALE

Contingential constructions with the -ná—ALE conjugation have resumptive functions (in narrative). Such constructions bring

in no new information, but rather serve as sentential linking markers (at the level of discourse) between successive episodes. In the most common cases the temporal clause is a direct lexical or semantic recapitulation of the preceding episode, e.g.:

(15:15.1066-68):

Masi kiheéháníyá oloóca. Kinééhaniye kiháncá othúmiha...
 ||:tmp:P ||:P
 Meanwhile I was called in the shop. When I was called I started selling [things].

Where ki-né-éhaniye (<- ki-ná-ihaniye) "when I was called" is a repetition of the same lexeme used in the previous sentence on the one hand, and on the other it sets the term and condition for the following indicative clause.

In case of complex recapitulation with several co-ordinate temporal clauses, it is only the first clause which uses the -ná-ALE conjugation, the following clauses having the -aka consecutive co-ordination marker (8.1.1), e.g.:

(16:15.388-90):

Hééháníya wiíra áwé woíno yóowo. Nééhaniye
 ||:tmp:P ||
 arowáká woówu...
 ||ctv:P | L ||
 He was called: let him come here himself. When he was called and went over there...

In some cases the temporal clause resumes the logical but unexpressed conclusion of the previous episode, e.g.:

(17:15.178-82):

Pwánrowén'ya owáání m'we. Onáphin'ye owáání n'we
 ||:tmp:P | L ||
 aheéhá'niya athíyana vale
 ||:P | S | L ||

where the recapitulating term onáphin'ye "when they arrived" does not literally recall any action expressed in the previous narrative episode.

Recapitulation also uses a general iterative formula which consists of a nominal group, the elements of structure of which are a determiner, a head (with an inherent temporal sense) and a modifier (most commonly a relative clause), e.g.:

(18:15.266-69):

Aviralé mahuku maráru wiiriya paáhi. Yáale mahúkú
 mararu aviralé ale heéháníyá ole nnénci ole.
 m | m:[r:] | d | P | S |
 Three days passed. Those three days that passed the old-
 hand soldier was summoned.

(ii) -a—(ka)

Temporal/contingential constructions using the -a—(ka) conjugation are used to refer either to the past or to the future according to the context. They mark temporal succession, the immediacy of the main event on the temporal event being undetermined. When used with reference to the past it often has a weakly recapitulatory function inasmuch as the temporal event is implied by preceding events but not stated, e.g.:

(19:15.317-21):

Olé oMámpá-Khoma wawe. Aphiya owaáni wu khwóókomáka...
 |||temp:P | L ||:P
 As for him, he [went] to his [home-land] Mampa-Khona. When
 he arrived over there, he settled down.

(20:15.1314-17):

...Wiiriya pi ókhoola... Awa n'we haáphwánya atthú'ale.
 |||:P | L ||:P | 0 |||
 He said this is [my] departure. When he came there he found
 the crowd.

It may be noticed that example 19 employs a consecutive conjugation linking it to the previous actions in place of the more normal finite conjugation used in example 20.

When the consequential clause refers to future events there is no commitment to certainty of occurrence of the event expressed

by the dependent clause, so that the translation "if" will be as appropriate as "when". This may be constructed either with -a—(ka) or -ná—ALE conjugations, e.g.:

(21:15.542): (-a—(ka))

Mwamala	mwáwéeke	váava	
:ctg:P	:P	L	

If/when you finish it, you may come back here.

(22:15.914):

Mwaphiya	opahári	mwáphéele	ekaláwa
:ctg:P	L	:P	0

When/if you arrive at the sea, look for a dhow.

(23:*) : (-ná—ALE)

Ki-ná-limale kinokóórowa waámáama
When/if I have cultivated I will go to my mother's.

There is no formal distinction between conditional and hypothetical constructions in e-Sáaka other than the choice of conjugation in the conditional clause, which is naturally past for hypothetical events. Tenses that may be selected in the subordinate (conditional) clause include the following:

(iii) -ÁÁ—ALE

(24:15.302-06):

...káácuwélale	kaakówíra...owé owáńnya aka
ctg: P	:

If I knew I would say come to my house.

(iv) -ÁÁ—a(ka)

(25:*):

Wáávára	mteko	waánaaphwánya mhákhu
ctg:P	0	:

If you had the habit of working [hard] you would be rich.

(v) The -a—a(ka) conjugation co-occurs with all conjugations in the governing clause, but only with a few it is purely conditional; with the others it may be interpreted as conditional or temporal. When it is interpreted as conditional the event/action expressed by the conjugation in the apodosis

(governing clause) must necessarily take place, first inverting thus the role of the protasis which becomes the consequence, e.g.:

(26:*):

Kapica kihophwañya

|||:ctg:P || |||

If I delay (in returning it is because) I have found it.

(-a—a(ka) is general, i.e., it does not express time, this being expressed by the conjugation selected in the apodosis.)

8.2.2 Temporal subordination

Some temporal uses in which the action of the subordinate clause precedes that of the main clause have been discussed under the preceding section (8.2.1); others are discussed here. The system of conjugation used in temporal clauses has been set out in section 5.5.4; illustrations of their usage are given below.

There is a close connection between temporal clauses and other temporal expressions that are naturally described as temporal adjuncts such that clauses and expressions are frequently commutable. This might suggest an analysis of temporal clauses as rank-shifted (embedded) clauses rather than simply temporal. This multivalence is illustrated later in the present section.

- (i) -nóó—a(ka)
 -anóó—a(ka)

Temporal constructions using the -nóó—(ka) and -anóó—a(ka) conjugations establish precedence of the event in the dependent clause over that in the governing clause which is normally expressed by a consecutive conjugation or pro-verbal. This may suggest an alternative analysis in which the "temporal" clause is co-ordinate with the following clause, and the construction is used to mark the beginning of an episode (8.1.5), e.g.:

(27:*):

Kaanóórápá khúnúpaka
 |||:tmp:P ||:ctv:P |||
 After I had taken bathe I went to sleep.

However, -noo—a(ka) followed by mahála "in vain", very commonly indicates immediate precedence of the events described by the temporal clause over those of the governing clause, e.g.:

(28:15.212):

Anoókóma mahála ólé otúthúmérya
 |||:tmp:P | A ||:S | P |||
 No sooner had she sat down than he edged away.

(The same collocation is found in concessive clauses,
 see 8.2.3.)

(ii) -ø—aka

Temporal construction using the -ø—aka conjugation implies no clear separation in time between the activities described by the two clauses. Logically the action of the temporal clause may precede, e.g.:

(29:15.535)

E-rowáká ale awaáká muúlúpálé awe
 |||:tmp:P | A ||:P | A |||
 As soon as he left his brother came,

(where it is contextually clear that their presence did not overlap), or it may effectively coincide, e.g.:

(30:15.518):

Mkúnyá arowáká eeralé mwiihala
 |||:tmp:S | P ||:P | Q:["": P/aux |
 munkópíha
 ncl] |||
 The boss on his departure said: "Do not sell it on credit in my absence.

The construction simply highlights the association of time.

Used with a stative verb, the temporal clause may be translated "while..." and the temporal relation of the main clause to the temporal clause may be regarded as "time within which", e.g.:

(31:*):

Kiphwanyalé kirupáka
 |||:P || tmp:P ||
 He found me when/while I was sleeping.

We may compare the construction with the -ee--aka conjugation where the events described in the two clauses are co-extensive, e.g.:

(32:*):

Yeelimáká anáárétthééla erúthú yootéene
 |||:tmp:P ||: P | OR ||
 When he is cultivating the whole body drips water.

(iii) -á—e(+ru)

The temporal construction using the -á—e(+ru) conjugation describes the decisive starting point of the continuous action or state of affairs expressed by the governing clause, e.g.:

(33:15.615-17):

...Wárowén'yé ru akinárówa owáani woótóla
 |||:tmp: P | enc ||:P | L | Op ||
 Ever since you went, I have not gone home to visit.

The conjugation -á—e without the enclitic ru may also be used as mark of temporality and it indicates that the event in the dependent clause was about to happen when anticipated by the event in the governing clause, e.g.:

(34:15.1381.83)

Ámáananihe wiiíra óótokole tho fíno
 |||:tmp:P | Op:[Q:i] | P | enc | L|| ||:
 fíno ophwányera...
 L | P |
 Just as he tried to go back and check again he found it still there...

(35:15.1473):

Áhule mkhórá ole wiiriya: "Kahi
 |||:tmp:P | 0 || Qt+ind:P | Q:["
 pwán'húliya mkhóra
 ']. |||

Just as he was about to open the door, it was said: "This is not the right time to open the door".

However, in the example:

(36:15.1375-77):

Paápá veeralé áwé vále
 |||:tmp:<V> | A:[r+loc:P | S |] | d | Q:":
 ámumule nóóphutuwa phútu...
 P | | idp:P | Idp |
 Father, the moment he was just about to take breath, he quickly
 popped [his head] out...

the -á—e form is introduced by a form of the verb wiíra
 (commonly "to say") itself in a temporal relative expression,
 as if to say "then when he said 'let [me] breathe'". This
 could be regarded as analogous to the use of wiíra introducing
 speech, and has been so analysed above, but this is not
 intuitively satisfactory; an alternative would be to treat
wiíra as an auxiliary. Note that the expression veeralé áwé vale
 could be omitted altogether. It is possible that the other
 examples above are to be regarded as a contraction of this
 construction (or this as an expansion of those above).

As we observed at the start of this section, temporal clauses frequently
 commute or co-occur with other temporal expressions which function as
 temporal adjuncts. The most common of such temporal expressions are:

- (i) Demonstrative: class 5, e.g.:

(37:15.1092):

Vánó nná kináwáale vá okítáratariiki co
 |||:A | + A/tm. | +A/tm:[r:P |] | d | P | A |||
 Now that I have come, [please] take care of me fittingly.

(38:15.615-17):

...Mínnyaánó vá nénne nénne,
 |||: S | A/tm:d | d | +A/tm:[r+loc:
 wárowen'ye ru akinárowa owáani woótola.
 P | enc] | P | L | OP | |||
 As for me, since then, since you left, I have never gone home
 to visit.

- (ii) Demonstratives cl.16 (temporal locativisation), e.g.

(39:15.45-7)

Vánó váávale válé anééracale cammwe válé
 |||:A/tm | +A/tm: | +A/tm:[r:P | 0 |] | d |
 ole owiíratí horówa
 S | P | |||
 Then, when they were in that situation the one from Erati went.

- (iii) Temporal nominal group the head having an inherent time meaning and the modifier most often being a relative clause, e.g.:

(40:15.1437):

...athíyána ale ewóora ethurumelalé aya
 ||| :Qt+excl: S | A/tm:h | [[r;P | S]]
 yiiralé yiíh
 P | <U> ||
 The women the time she peered over she said: "Goodness..."

- (iv) Deverbal nominal group, e.g.:

(41:15.464):

(cf. Ówa: come)

Yééyo ewééliyo eyo, yiiriyé: Mhámmati.
 ||| :A/tm: d | h | d | P | <V> |||
 At [her] coming she said: Mhámmati.

- (v) Fixed expression, e.g.:

(42:15.302-04):

Orúpá woósenlíya nikusénraneke.
 || A:h: [[i:P]] | m: [[gi:P]] || P |||
 The following day we will start [sleeping] together

(where orúpá woósenlíya "sleep overnight and arise refreshed"
 is a fixed expression meaning "the next day").

8.2.3 Concessive subordination

Concessive subordination "signals the unexpected, surprising nature of what is being said in view of what was said before" (Quirk *et al.*, 1978).

In e-Sáaka concessive subordination is associated with verbal conjugation of the concessive mood (5.5) and describes an action/event state which is upset by the event/action/state of the governing clause. Examples using different conjugations may be observed below:

- (i) -aná—a(ka), e.g.:

(43:15.424-25):

Palísí ola óla ohimkopihe anákhala vakáani
 ||| :0 | P || ccv+cpl:P | SC |||
 This maize-flour do not sell it on credit even in small quantity.

(44:15.819):

Sértu mcurúku ahólyá ala vé vé
 ||| :A. | 0 | P | S | Idp || ccv:
 amáárúnáka va
 P | A/tm |||
 Indeed he has used up the money completely even though he denies it now.

(ii) -nóó--a(+ka), w.g.:

(45:*):

Kinóólímaka	mahála	akiphwanyálé	etthu
:ccv:P	A	: P	0

I have cultivated in vain (although I cultivated) I found nothing.

8.2.4 Purposive and causal subordination

We may distinguish a number of other types of subordination, of which we have illustrated purposive and causal clauses, which are not associated with any special system of conjugations or mood set out in Chapter 5.

Clauses expressing purpose are frequently expressed using conjugations of the subjunctive mood, e.g.:

(46:15.984):

Khulí	kináárowa	kéécaakihe
:<X>	P	ppv: P

Oh no, I am going [out] to relieve myself.

Sometimes purposive clauses are introduced by a causal conjunctive marker such as maána, e.g.:

(47:15.1034-36):

...n'wé	mcóró	waapén'yaka	ottokótthaka
: L	S	P	: P
maáná	álye	yoola óla	
ppv:cj	P	S	

Over there the rice was cooking and boiling so that he could eat (for him to eat).

Causal clauses may be explicitly marked by the causal conjunction maána, e.g.:

(48:15.212-14):

Anoókóma	mahálá	ólé	otúthúmérya
:tmp:P	A	: S	P
maáná	namóóva		
csl:cj	P		

No sooner had she sat down than he edged away for he was afraid.

In other cases causality is simply implied by juxtaposition, e.g.:

(49:15.17-18):

...Kihinkóócuwela cáyi kiyariyé ni
 |||:?: P | A/? || cs1:P | Ag:
 ápáapa owúúlumáca |||
 How shouldn't I be wise, I was born of an eloquent father.

It is also common to find cause or purpose expressed by the causal

-el- extension (5.2.1) used with the main verb followed by an infinitive clause, e.g.:

(50:*):

Ámhámmati atthukeliyé win'ya mcúrukhu
 |||:cs1:S | P | 0:[i: P | 0]] |||
 Mr. Mhammati was arrested for having stolen money.

8.3 EMBEDDED, QUOTED AND INTERPOLATED CLAUSES

Embedded clauses differ from subordinate clauses in that they are related to some particular element in the "governing" clause rather than to the clause as a whole. Typical of such embedded clauses are relative clauses already described in 7.4.2. It is occasionally difficult to draw the line between embedded and subordinate clauses, as we observed in discussing temporal subordination (8.2.2).

Quotation is a process according to which a given clause or series of clauses may precede or follow and function as part of another clause but not be contained within it (Bennett p.c.). We have referred in the heading to "quoted clauses", but since there is no limit to the length or complexity of quoted speech, it would be more appropriate to speak of "quoted discourse". Quotation in e-Sáaka is generally direct, that is, grammatical persons and verbal conjugations are selected from the viewpoint of the quoted speaker.

Interpolation is a process in which a clause may be contained within another and yet not have any role as part of it, e.g.:

(51:15.133):

Enéériya: "Khú", ólé otíkínihiya
 |||:Qt:P | Q:["?:<X> | <<i:S |P >> |
 wakhumalé cayi?
 P | A/? |||
 He said: "What?!", he was dumbfounded, what on earth is this?

where ólé otíkínihiya is not part of the quoted speech but an "aside" by the narrator. We have not distinguished this notationally from interposition, whereby an element of a governing clause appears physically within a subordinate clause, e.g. (in one analysis):

(52:15.448):

Vá onámkópihale kimpwanye palísí ola óla
 |||:A | OC:[[:P+0 | <<P+0 >> | 0]] |||
 Now let me not find the maize-flour that you have sold it
 on credit,

where what we have analysed as the governing clause appears parenthetically within what we should normally regard as a rank-shifted clause. (For contrasting analysis see 7.2.3, ex.35.)

APPENDIX: SAMPLE TEXT WITH STRUCTURAL ANNOTATION

TRANSCRIPTION:

The transcription is based on current orthography, modified in the interest of phonological adequacy, specifically in the distinction of vowel length. Tone has not been marked in the appendix, but has been marked in cited examples. Word-division is mildly disjunctive; some inconsistencies remain.

LINE-NUMBERING:

The text has been split into "lines" corresponding roughly to "units of discourse", normally uninterrupted contribution of one speaker. Longer contributions have sometimes been split either for convenience or because of a genuine pause by the speaker.

STRUCTURAL UNITS AND BOUNDARIES:

	<u>Rank-shifted</u>	<u>Interpolated</u>	<u>Special cases</u>
Discourse			[" "]/[" "]
Sentences			
Clauses		[[]]	<< >>
Groups		[]	< > <V>, <U>, <X>
Words			
Morphemes			

Units of a given rank are delimited by paired symbols as in the table above; a boundary at a given rank is taken to imply boundaries at all lower ranks so that a group at the beginning of a sentence may be delimited ||| |.

SPECIAL CASES:

[" "] (or simply ["]): quoted discourse

<V> vocative

<X> expression of assent or dissent, "noise"; elements devoid
<U> of information

... aborted and/or resumed structures in place of their final or
initial boundary.

In cases of full or partial echo the structural analysis may be
abbreviated in the repeated speech.

STRUCTURAL DESCRIPTORS AND LEVELS OF DESCRIPTION

Each line of text is followed by a syntactic analysis down to the
level of the orthographic word. Following an initial boundary symbol,
any description applying to that unit as a whole is separated by a
colon from any description applying to the next lowest unit in the
rank-scale.

Thus ideally we find:

||| sentence descriptor: clause descriptor: group descriptor |
group descriptor |||

In the absence of higher-level descriptors, colons by themselves indicate
the appropriate level of description, e.g.:

|||::group descriptor: word descriptor | word descriptor|group
descriptor |||

If two or more descriptors are applicable to the same unit, they are
separated by +, e.g.:

a verbal predicate with infixed object co-referent is
described P+0.

A repetition or discontinuous extension of the same element of structure is labelled +descriptor.

Sub-descriptors of finer delicacy may be separated from the primary descriptor by/, following the models:

descriptor/subcategory: A/tm (temporal adjunct)

descriptor/system = term: P/e = ps (Predicate with passive extension)

descriptor/system = term/+descriptor: P/e = ps/+0

CLAUSE TYPES: Functional

ccv: concessive
 cnd: conditional
 (cpv: comparative)
 csl: causal
 ctv: consecutive
 ctg: contingentia
 ppv: purposive
 prl: parallel
 temp: temporal

CLAUSE TYPES: Predication

idp: ideophonic
 cpl: copulative
 nom: nominal
 mnr: minor
 indf: indefinite
 pv: pro-verbal
 stv: situative
 clft: cleft
 psclft: pseudo;cleft

CLAUSE TYPES: Interpersonal function

excl: exclamative
?: interrogative
!: jussivo-imperative

RANK-SHIFTED CLAUSES

[[r:]]: relative clause (r/ac=specifies role of antecedent)
[[i:]]: infinitive clause
[[gi:]]: infinitivo-genitival clause
[[a:]]: infinitivo-adjunct clause

CLAUSE ELEMENTS

Clause elements have been labelled according to their roles in the clause.

We have defined the predicate as the nucleus of the clause and each element of clause is definable in relation to the nucleus. Thus,

we have:

P: predicate
S: subject
SC: subject complement
*S: nominal predicate
O: object
O/r or
OR: object of reference
OC: object complement
O/p or
Op: purposive object
A: adjunct
L: locative adjunct
Ag: agentive

T: topic
 V: vocative
 &: conjunctive element
 Cj: conjunctive element
 FR: formulaic response
 Q: quoted object

ATTRIBUTES

(i) Verbal extensions

P/e = app: applicative
 cs: causative
 clt: collective
 cmt: comitative
 dr: directive
 int: intensive
 ps: passive
 rcp: reciprocal
 rvs: reversive

(ii) Adjunct types

A/tm: temporal adjunct
 A/mn: adjunct of manner
 L: locative adjunct

(iii) Participatory roles

The subject and the object may sometimes be specified according to their participatory roles in the clause as:

O/r=, S/r= act; actor
 gl: goal
 csr: causator
 at: attributee

NOMINAL GROUP STRUCTURE

Nominal group elements are conventionally abbreviated as:

- a: appositive modifier
- c: complementary modifier
- d: determiner
- enc: enclitic element
- h: head
- m: modifier
- r: referent
- sm: submodifier
- pp: pre-positional element
- l: locative modifier

VERBAL GROUP STRUCTURE

- aux: auxiliary
- ncl: nucleus (or main verb)
- ec: echo

DIALOGUE STRUCTURE

We have attempted to provide along with the attribution of lines to the two speakers, some impression of the function of the line within the narrative or in the role-play assumed by the speaker:

- S: main speaker
- R: co-narrator (or respondent)
- ...: narrative continuation
- !: exclamatory response without new information
- ?: interrogative echo by R
- +: supplementary information of second speaker or assumption of role of narrator

" : echo without new information

~ : formulaic response by R or playing the role of a character (in their dialogue).

< : an aside

> : resumption of the story

Note that the story is prefaced by a short conversation (lines 1-20), taking the place of the normal formulaic introduction, since the narrators were conscious that story-telling during the day was socially abnormal. The normal canonical formula may differ slightly from place to place, but in Erati takes the form:

S : Caparanttáani

R : campettéke (or civíre).

This is not translatable, but serves to capture the listener's attention

TEXT ANNOTATION

Aldeia comunal (communal village):	Josina Machel
Localidade (administrative post):	Otinépa
Distrito (district):	Erati
Província (province):	Nampula
Date:	16 August 1981
Cassette No.:	3
Text No.:	15
Informant:	Mpuhiya
Co-informant:	Nihórosa

- 1 S: Paapa khannoceya?
 ||:?:<V> | P ||
 Oh father, are you still not tired?
- 2 R: Kuukohekeni nyu wilra khannoceya?
 ||:: P+0 | +0 | Q: I | I?: P ||
 I must ask you whether you are not tired yet.
- 3 S: Min paapa akinoceya.
 ||:: S+T | <V> | P ||
 Me, father, I am not tired yet.
- 4 R: Pahl mwilireke vamoca ni min kuukusenrekeni.
 ||:!: & | P | A ||: & | S | P/e=apl/+0 ||
 Then carry on once more and I will take over from you.
- 5 S: Mhu, paapa nnamwinwanana khweeli.
 ||:: <U> | <V> | P/e=rcp | A ||
 All right, father, we understand one another perfectly.
- 6 R: Aayo.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 7 S: Khweeli, khweeli.
 | -A | -A ||
 Perfectly, perfectly.
- 8 R: Mwilireke vamoca ni min kuukusenrekeni.
 ||:!: P | A ||: & | S | P/e=apl/+0 ||
 Carry on once more and I will take over from you.
- 9 S: Mwakikusenreke ohoolo nwo?
 ||:?: P/e=apl/+0 | L: h | d ||
 You will take over from me afterwards?
- 10 R: Aan, ann.
 <X> | <X>
 Yes, yes.
- 11 S: Aayo ni atthu pl owaakhelana.
 ||:mnr: <U> ||:nom: & | S | *S:cpl; h: ||gi: P/e=rcp ||
 Yes, and people ought to help each other.
- 12 R: Aayo ni wuulumaca nno nno onamwaakhelaniya.
 ||:mnr: <U> ||: & | S: h | d | d | P/e=apl+rcp+ps ||
 Yes, and [in the art of] speech one has to be taken over from by another
- 13 S: Aan aan.
 <X> | <X>
 Right, right.
- 14 R: Aan.
 <X>
 Right.
- 15 S: Khweeli?
 ||:nom+?: A ||
 Is it true?
- 16 R: Onamwaakhelaniya.
 | -P ||
 One has to be taken over from by another [turns have to be taken].
- 17 S: Mhu, munnocuwelaca.
 ||: <X> | P ||
 You know much [how wise of you!]
- 18 R: Kihinkocuwelaca cayi, kiyariye ni apaapa owuulumaca.
 ||:?: P | A ||: P/e=ps | Ag:pp | h | ||gi: P ||
 How would I not know much, I was born of an eloquent father.
- 19 S: Mhm.
 <X>
 I see.
- 20 R: Aayo.
 <X>
 Yes.

- 21 S>: Paapa, aahokhala mwaanlopwana mmoca.
 ||:cpl:<V> | P | S: h | m ||
 Father, there was a certain young man,
- 22 R': Mwaanlopwana mmoca.
 | -S ||
 Just one young man
- 23 S': Mmoca.
 | -S ||
 One.
- 24 R!: Aan.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 25 S_: Yoola mwaanlopwana ola, paapa, kimpheela wuuhimeeryani,
 ||:cpl: S: d | h | d | <V> | P | O ||: P/e=apl/
 eehaniya mhammati.
 +O || > | P/e=ps | SC ||
 This young man, father, I want to tell you, he was called Mhammati.
- 26 R': Mhammati?
 | -SC ||
 Mhammati.
- 27 S!: Aan, mhammati.
 | <X> | -SC ||
 Yes, Mhammati.
- 28 R!: Aan, aan.
 <X> | <X>
 Yes, yes.
- 29 S_: Vano, yeeriya: mhammati.
 ||:ctg+indf+qt: A | P/e=ps | Q: f: mnr: <V> | ||
 Then, when one said: Mhammati,
- 30 S_: Yena khwlraka wowaakhula: Salti sanla-alah-swalah-sallama
 ||:qt+pv: S | P | A: ||a: P || | Q: f: FR ||
 Salti sanla-alah-swalah-sallama. He would say in acknowledging: Salti sanla-alah-swalah-sallama.
- 31 R+: Ahin, waakhula va?
 ||:nom+?: <X> | *S: ||: P || | d ||
 Really, he acknowledged like that?
- 32 S': Waakhula wawe.
 ||:nom: *S: h: ||: P || | m ||
 Yes, that is the way he acknowledged.
- 33 R!: Ehin.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 34 S_: Masi aakhalaka wlrati.
 ||: & | P | L ||
 But he was living in Erati.
- 35 R': Aari wlrati, pi waakhala awe?
 ||:cpl: P | L || nom+?: *S: cpl | h: ||r+loc: P | S || ||
 He was in Erati, that is where he was living.
- 36 S!: Aayo.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 37 S_: Ni nno nno Omampa-khoma hoyariya Mhammati
 ||: & | L: d | d | h | P/e=ps | S:
 Sanla-alah-swalah-sallama.
 F |
 And over there in Mampa-Khoma, there was born [another] Mhammati Sanla-alah...
- 38 R!: Aayo.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 39 S_: Aakhalaka omampa-khoma.
 ||: P | L ||
 He was living in Mampa-Khoma.

- 40 R': Omampa-khoma.
| -L ||
In Mampa-Khoma.
- 41 S...: Masi khayaacuwelana va.
||: & | P/e=rcp | A ||
But they did not yet know one another.
- 42 R': Khayaacuwelana.
| -P ||
They did not know one another.
- 43 S...: wira nno haavo Mhammatl, nno haavo Mhammatl.
- Q: | | Pcp1+pr1: L | P | S || pr1: L | P | S | ||
that here there was a Mhammatl and here another Mhammatl.
- 44 R!: Aan, aan.
<X> | <X>
Yes, yes.
- 45 S...: Vano vaavale vale aneeracale cammwe vale,
||: A | A: d | d | +A: h: tmp: P | A > | d |
Then, when they were in that situation,
- 46 R!: Mhu.
<X>
Yes.
- 47 S...: Ole o wiraat' horowa <: mhm masi kavonya khavalokale
| S: d | h :lg: pp|h | | P || ctg: <X> | & | P || loc: P ||
The one from Erati went er, oh no, if I get it wrong, it will not be well performed.
- 48 R: Ni va khavalokale.
||: loc: & | S | P ||
Indeed, it would not be performed properly.
- 49 S>: Omampa-khoma holepiya mtoropani.
- | S:lg:pp|h | | P/e=ps | L ||
The one from Mampa-Khoma was enlisted for the army service.
- 50 R?: Omampa-khoma?
| -S ||
The one from Mampa-Khoma.
- 51 S!: Aayo.
<X>
Yes.
- 52 R': Holepiya mtoropani.
- | P | L ||
He was enlisted for army service.
- 53 S...: Hotthukiya mtoropani horowa.
- | P/e=ps | L ||: P ||
He was conscripted for the army and went.
- 54 R!: Aan, aan.
<X>
Yes, yes.
- 55 S...: Henna etoropa wuu, hovahiya onoso-khaapu,
||: P | OR | L ||: P/e=ps | O ||
He did his army drill all that long and was given the rank of commander
- 56 R!: Aan, aan.
<X> | <X>
Yes, yes.
- 57 S...: Vapuwani vale omantari vooteene,
||: pv: A: h | d | P | +A ||
He was in complete command of the base
- 58 R!: Ehin.
<X>
Yes.
- 59 S...: Valtphula vale.
- | +A: h | d ||
The base in Nampula.

- 60 R*: VaMphula vale.
| -A ||
In Nampula.
- 61 S*: Omantari yenani.
| -P | S ||
He was the one who gave orders.
- 62 R!: Aayo.
<X>
Yes.
- 63 S_: Masi mhina mtoropani.
|| mn: & | A: h | a ||
But only within the army.
- 64 R!: Aan.
<X>
Yes.
- 65 S_: Vano aneeraca commo,
||:tmp: A | P | A ||
Then, when they are in that situation,
- 66 R!: Ann.
<X>
Yes.
- 67 S_: Owlirati hotthukiya mtoropani.
| S:[g: pp|h] | P/e=ps | L ||
The one from Erati was also conscripted for the army.
- 68 R!: Aan.
<X>
Yes.
- 69 S_: Cekeceke va.
||:nom: *S | A ||
He was a complete beginner.
- 70 R!: Aan.
<X>
Yes.
- 71 S*: ocekeceke.
|| mn: OP ||
[like] a complete beginner.
- 72 R+: Khanocuwela etthu.
||: P | O ||
He does not know anything whatsoever.
- 73 S!: Mhm, mhm,
<X> | <X>
Yes, yes.
- 74 R*: Khanacuwela etthu.
||: P | O ||
He does not know anything whatsoever.
- 75 S*: Khancuwela.
| -P ||
He does not know.
- 76 R!: Aayo.
<X>
Yes.
- 77 S!: Aayo vale.
|| mn: <X> | A ||
Yes, at that moment.
- 78 R<: Aayo, muunlyeke soone owo,
||:!: <X> | P+O | O: h | d ||
Yes, do smoke that tobacco,
- 79 S: Mhm, mhm.
<X> | <X>
Yes, yes.

- 80 R: vano mkolokoceke wuulumaca,
 ||: & | P | O: ||: P|| ||
 and then start speaking. . .
- 81 S: Mhm, mhm.
 <X> | <X>
 Yes, yes.
- 82 R: vooreresa va!
 ... | A: ||a: P/e=Int || | d ||
 In your delightful manner.
- 83 S: Mwatthu eh!
 <X>
 Fine.
- 84 R: Ekoma nnookelela ela.
 ||:: O | P/e=dr | +0 ||
 We have undertaken this task.
- 85 S: Mhm, mhm.
 <X> | <X>
 Yes, yes.
- 86 R: Khanakhumenia mkhwilhu va oonlvikana.
 ||:: P/e=dr | S | L | +S: ||g|: P+0 || ||
 There has not yet appeared a rival who can surpass us.
- 87 S>: Nalepiye mtoropani ole,
 ||:tmp: P/e=ps | L | S/r=g| ||
 When he was enlisted in the army,
- 88 R!: Aan.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 89 S...: howilhiya ocekeceke. Nookoma vale.
 ||: P/e=cs+ps | OP ||:: P | L ||
 he was brought for his initial training and sat over there.
- 90 R!: Ehln.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 91 S...: Anookomihaciya vale.
 ||:: P/e=cs+clt+ps/+0 | L ||
 They were ordered to sit down over there.
- 92 R!: Aayo.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 93 S...: Anoometthaciya miputu!
 ||:excl: P/e=clt+ps/+0 | OR ||
 All of them had their heads shaved.
- 94 R*: Miputu.
 | -OR |
 Their heads shaved.
- 95 S...: Maana etoropa yil akenle naanaano.
 ||:csl: c| | L | <X> | P | A ||
 As that is how recently they entered the army.
- 96 R!: Aayo.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 97 S...: Yomtoropani khaanacuwela.
 ||:: O:|g: pp|h| | P ||
 About the army they know nothing yet.
- 98 R!: Aayo.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 99 S...: Ale akinaku ale owaaca,
 ||:pv: S: d | h | d | P ||
 The others [the old hands] came together,

- 100 S...: wookotthaca yaale asilopwana ale, wookotthaca:
 ||: P+O | O: d | h | d || Idp: P+O |
 and hit them, the youngsters they hit them,
- 101 R!: Aayo.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 102 S...: ttotto ttotto. nyu waahawalaca asaara ihun owaani
 | Idp || mn: Q: l' nom+?: S: || i : S | P/e=clt+O | O: h | m | L ||
 raining down blows [they said]: you guys have had sex with our wives back
 home,
- 103 S...: owoonittikwela nno
 || pv: P/e=apl/+O | L || |
 [now] you came to gloat over us here,
- 104 R~: Eseeni nyu?
 | *S | <V> ||
 What for, you, [new recruits]?
- 105 S...: nyu mwaasipani?
 ||: nom+?: S | *S | ||
 who are you? [who do you think you are?]
- 106 S...: Anomookomaca vale.
 ||: P | L ||
 They still were sitting there.
- 107 R!: Aayo.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 108 S...: Vaavale vale, khancuwela wilra varwehiye aka
 ||: Qt: A: d | d | P | Q: l | l': A: [r+loc: P/e=ps | S
 vapheempa va va_
 || | +A: h | d | d | _
 At that point he [Mhammatl] does not know that, er... where he [I] was sent...
- 109 S<: Vayini wonwo? Mkiromoliheke nyenyu.
 ||: nom+?: *S | S ||: P/e=cmt+O | S+V ||
 Where is it? Help me find the name, you there.
- 110 R: Waamphula.
 _ | +A |
 At Nampula.
- 111 S: Aayo.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 112 R: Aayo, waamphula.
 <X> | -A |
 Yes, at Nampula.
- 113 S>: Waamphula va va_
 _ | +A: h | d | d | _
 Here in Nampula.
- 114 S...: khancuwela wilra vaava haavo mhammatl, mmantari ola
 _ | l' | Q: l | l'cpl: L | P | S || nom: S: [r: P] | d
 va Mhammatl.
 | L | *S | ||
 he does not know that here there is a Mhammatl, the commander in there was.
 [another] Mhammatl.
- 115 R!: Aan.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 116 S...: ni ole vale khancuwela wilra ole mhammatl.
 ||: Qt: & | S: d | l | P | Q: l | l'nom: S | *S ' ||
 And he, himself, [the commander] does not know that that [man] is Mhammatl,
 too.
- 117 R!: Aan.
 <X>
 Yes.

- 118 S...: Vano hokhuma mwaanlopwana mmoca eehaniya Mcuwelaneké
 ::A | P | S:h | m | [[r: P/e=ps | SC]]
 Then, there came along another man called Ncuwelaneké [Know each other].
- 119 R*: Mcuwelaneké.
 | -SC]
 Ncuwelaneké [Know each other].
- 120 S! : Aayo.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 121 R+ : Vale vale onopheela, opheela ohimeeryaniya vale
 ::?: A: d | d | P | +P/ec | O: [[i: P/e=apl+rcp+ps]] | <A>
 mcuwelaneké vale?
 | O | A]
 At that moment[something] strives to make them to know each other. [Mcuwelaneké
 is a clan origin code.]
- 122 S! : Mhm, mhm.
 <X> | <X>
 Yes, yes.
- 123 R+ : Ole omcuwela oomampa-khoma, ni ola nno.
 ::pv: S | P+O | O: [g: pp|h]] mnr: & | S: d | L]
 One to know the one from Mampa-Khoma and the other to know the first.
- 124 S! : Aan.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 125 S...: Panlira awe ole nnenci ole ole ... mcuwelaneké
 ::stv+Qt: P | S | T: d | h | d | d | _ :: S: h |
 ole nomwihana ole,
 d | P/nci/+O | O |
 So then he said / that old soldier Ncuwelaneké called him,
- 126 S...: nnenci awe ole ole nomantari ole vale.
 - | h | m | d | d | m: [[r: P < | d > | L]]
 his acquaintance the commander there,
- 127 S...: Pannlira awe: mhammati.
 :: stv+Qt: P | S | Q: [mnr: <V>]
 So then he said: Mhammati.
- 128 S...: Panlira ole vale ni ole vale olikana waakhula:
 ::stv+Qt: P | S: d | | & | d | | pv: P | OR > |
 Then, they spoke up that fellow there and that fellow there responding
 alike:
- 129 S...: Saiti-swalla-alah-swalla-sallama.
 Q:P: FR]]
 Saiti-Sanla-Alah-swalah-sallama.
- 130 R! : Aan.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 131 S...: Olikana weemela.
 :: P | OR: [[i: P]]
 They stood up simultaneously.
- 132 R* : Olikana weemela.
 | -P | -O]
 They stood up simultaneously.
- 133 S...: eneeriya: khu, ole otikinihiya,
 :: Qt+Indf: P/e=ps | Q: i'nom+?: <U> | <<pv: S | P/e=cs+ps
 wakhumale cayi? !
 > | *S: [[r+loc: P | A]]
 [Ncuwelaneké] said " what? ! ", <he was dumb-founded>, " how has this happened?"
- 134 R! : Aan.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 135 S...: Omwihana mmoca weemela ni ole nwe, vankookhala cayi?
 ::cpl+?: S: [[i: P+O | O]] P | S: & | d | L] | P: [[loc: P | A]]
 Calling one and the other stands up too, what is going on? !

- 136 R!: Aan.
<X>
Yes.
- 137 S... Neera phwiraka: mawaace wonno.
||:Qt: P | +P/ec | Q: P! : P | L | ||
He said, then, 'both come here'.
- 138 S... Ahowaaca ooteene aheemela vari awe vale.
||: P | S ||: P | L: ||r: P | S || | d ||
They both came and stood up there by him.
- 139 R+: Ooyeell.
- | +S ||
The two of them.
- 140 S!: Aan.
<X>
Yes.
- 141 S... Eneerliya: we mlopwana ncina naa opani?
||:Qt+Indf: P/e=ps | Q: Pnom+?:<V>+S | T:h | m | *S| ||
He said: 'you man, your name, who are you?'
- 142 S... Wlira: m'n mhamati-salti-swalla-allah-Swallah-sallama
||:Qt+pv: P | Q: Pnom: S | *S | ||
He said: '[I am] Salti-swalla-alah-swallah-sallama.'
- 143 R!: Aan.
<X>
Yes.
- 144 S... Owannya aa?
||:mnr: Q: Pnom+?: S | ||
Your home?
- 145 S... Wliriya: owampa-khoma.
||:Qt: P/e=ps | Q: P nom: *S | ||
He said: In Mampa-khoma.
- 146 R!: Mhm.
<X>
Yes.
- 147 S... Amayi aa paapani?
||:mnr: Q: Pnom+?: S: h | m | *S: cpl:h | ||
Who is your mother?
- 148 R!: Aan.
<X>
Yes.
- 149 S... Eneerliya: amaama minnyano, muusa.
||:Qt+Indf: P/e=ps | Q: Pnom: S | T | *S | ||
He said: my mother, as for me, is Muusa.
- 150 R!: Aan.
<X>
Yes.
- 151 S... Khwiliyaka: apaapa ennyu?
||:ctv+Qt: P/e=ps | Q: P: mnr+?: S: h | | ||
And he said: your father?
- 152 R!: Aan.
<X>
Yes.
- 153 S... Khwiliyaka: seehe ayisa.
||:ctv+Qt: P/e=ps | Q: Pnom: *S: h | c | ||
He answered: Seehe Ayisa.
- 154 R': Seehe ayisa.
| -*S ||
Seehe Ayisa.
- 155 S': Seehe Ayisa aayo.
| -*S | <X> ||
Seehe Ayisa, yes.

- 156 R!: Aayo.
<X>
Yes.
- 157 S...: Khwiriya: mankhi we?
||:ctv+Qt: P/e=ps | Q:l' nom+?: A | T |
And he said: and how about you?
- 158 R!: Aan.
<X>
Yes.
- 159 S...: Amayi aa paapani?
... | S:h! m | *S | ||
Your mother is who?
- 160 R!: Aan.
<X>
Yes.
- 161 S...: Wiriya: pinti muusa.
||:Qt+pv: P/e=ps | Q:l' mnr: S | ||
He said: Pinti Muusa.
- 162 R*: Pinti muusa.
| -S |
Pinti Muusa.
- 163 S...: Khwiriya: nkhi apaapa ennyu?
||:ctv+Qt: P/e=ps | Q:l' mnr+?: A | S | ||
And he said: and your father?
- 164 S...: Wiriya: muusa.
||:Qt+pv: P/e=ps | Q:l' nom: *S | ||
He said: Muusa.
- 165 R*: Muusa.
| -*S |
Muusa.
- 166 S...: Mhm, okhalaka vayi?
||:mnr: Q:l' :?: <U> | P | A | ||
Mm, where do you live?
- 167 S...: Wiriya: mi wirati.
||:Qt+pv: P/e=ps | Q:l' mnr: S | A | ||
He said: me, in Erati.
- 168 S...: We?
||:mnr: Q:l' mnr+?: <V> | ||
And you?
- 169 S...: Wiriya: omampa-khoma.
||:Qt+pv: P/e=ps | Q:l' mnr: A | ||
He said: In Mampa-khoma.
- 170 S...: Eneeriya: va va.
||:Qt+indf: P/e=ps | Q:l' nom: *S | ||
He said: all right.
- 171 R!: Aan.
<X>
Yes.
- 172 S...: Mhm, mi va, alopwana, yaaphavela aka wuuhlmeeryani eyo
||: <X> | S: h | | <V> | Q: [[r: P | S | O: [[i: P/e=ap!/+0] |
akinhiya tho, kihoroo.
d | P | enc ||: P | ||
I, then men, what I was intending to say to you, I shall not say it anymore,
I am going.
- 173 R*: Akinhiya tho.
| -P | enc ||
I shall not say it any longer.
- 174 S...: Pwanroa awe ole.
||:stv: P | S | +S | ||
And he went.

175 R!: Aan.

<X>

Yes.

176 S... NI ole nnenci ole ole neera phwitraka: we
 ||: Qt: & | S: d | h | d | d | P | +P/ec | Q: P! : <V>: || d
 mlopwana we mlopwana,
 | h+c | =<V> |

And the old soldier [the commander] said: my fellow, you my fellow,

177 R*: We mlopwana,

| -V |

You, my fellow.

178 S... weyo vaa we mhammati vaa nrowe owannyaka,

| +<V> |

| P | L | |||
 you there, Mr. Mhammati, let us go to my house.

179 R*: nttwe owannyaka.

| -P | -L | |||

let us go to my house.

180 S... Pwanrwenya owaani nwe.

||:stv: P/e=ps | L:h | d |||

And so they went to the house there.

181 R!: Aan.

<X>

Yes.

182 S... Onaphinye owaani nwe aheehaniya athiyana vale:

||:tmp+indf: P/e=ps | S/r=gl: h | d || Qt: P/e=ps | S/r=gl | A |

When they arrived at the house, the wife was called.

183 R!: Aan.

<X>

Yes.

184 S... Attottho,

| Q: P! : <V> |

Darling [mother of].

185 R~: Lapeka.

mnr: Q:P: FR | >

Yes [lapeka, the responding way].

186 S... Nkaroweni wonno.

... P | L | |||

Please, come here.

187 S... Ahowa.

||: P |||

She came.

188 R!: Aan.

<X>

Yes.

189 S... Anawaale, ehopuruliya ekitthantta.

||:tmp: P ~ ||: P/e=ps | S/r=gl |||

When she came, a little bed was pulled out.

190 R!: Aan.

<X>

Yes.

191 S<: Munnocuwela ekitthantta?

||:?: P | O |||

Do you know "ekitthantta"? [to the investigator]

192 R: Akincuwela.

||: P |||

I do not know.

193 S: Eh eh eh, khannocuwela?

||:?: <X> | P |||

Ah ah ah, don't you know?

194 R: Ekitthantta eseeni?

||:nom+?: S | *S |||

Ekitthantta, what is it?

- 195 S: Ekori yaankani.
 ||:nom: *S: h | m ||
 A little bed.
- 196 R: Mkori mwaankani ole?
 ||:nom+?: *S: h | m | d |
 A little bed?
- 197 S: Aayo.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 198 R: onrupela asinamwane ole?
 | m: ||r: P/e=apl | S || | d ||
 one on which children sleep?
- 199 S: Mwatthu eh!
 <X>
 Exactly.
- 200 R: Aah ooh.
 <X> | <X>
 Yes.
- 201 S>: Vano va va, ohaataliya vale.
 ||: & | A | P/e=ps | L ||
 And then, they put it right there.
- 202 R!: Aan.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 203 S...: Onaataliye vaavale vale,
 ||:tmp: P/e=ps | L: d | d ||
 When they had put it there,
- 204 R!: Aan.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 205 S...: ahookomaca ale eeli ale.
 ||: P | S: d | h | d ||
 they, the two of them sat on it.
- 206 R*: Ooyeeli.
 | -S ||
 The two of them.
- 207 S...: Ni athiyana aneereliya: mookomeke eriyari ela ela.
 ||:Qt: & | S/r=gl | P/e=apl+ps | Q: [' !: P | L: h | d | d | ||
 And they said to the woman, "sit in the middle".
- 208 R!: Aan.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 209 S...: Mookomeke eriyari ela ela.
 | -P | -L ||
 Sit in the middle.
- 210 S...: Ahookoma.
 ||: P - ||
 She sat down.
- 211 R!: Ann.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 212 S...: Anookoma mahala, ole otuthumerya,
 ||:tmp: P | A || pv: S | P ||
 No sooner had she sat down than he edged away.
- 213 R*: Otuthumerya.
 | -P ||
 He edged away.
- 214 S...: maana namoova.
 || csl: cnj | P ||
 for he is afraid.

- 215 R*: Namooova.
| -P |||
He is afraid.
- 216 S...: Khwlliraka: yll, toko kimpheela wiirihlyani
||: Qt+ctv: P | Q: l' exc+?: <X> | A | P | O: ||: P/e=c
va?
s+ps/+0 | A | |||
He thought: help! what am I going to have done to me here?
- 217 R!: Aan.
<X>
Yes.
- 218 S...: Eneerliya: va amwaara aa paala ala.
||: Qt+indf: P/e=ps | Q: l'nom: A | S: h | m | *S |||
He [the host] said: now, here is your wife.
- 219 S...: Yaala paamwaara aa ni min paamwaara aka yaala ala.
||: nom: S | *S: cpl | h | m ||: & | T | *S: cpl | h | m | d | d |||
This is your wife and as for me, she is also my wife.
- 220 R*: Paamwaara aka yaala.
| -*S | -S |||
She is my wife.
- 221 S...: Athiyana ala ala.
| +S: h | d | d |||
This very woman.
- 222 R!: Aan.
<X>
Yes.
- 223 S...: Yoolya enliya ehu va, nilye emoca.
||: : O: h | m: ||r: P | S | L || | P | OC |||
Any food we eat here we must eat alike.
- 224 R!: Aan.
<X>
Yes.
- 225 S...: Ni nyu athiyana, min keehikhale,
||: & | S +<V> | <<ctg: S | P >
And you, woman, when I am not here,
- 226 R!: Aan.
<X>
Yes.
- 227 S...: ola mhimooove ola.
| O | P+O | +O |||
do not be afraid of him.
- 228 R*: Mhimooove ola.
| -P+O | O |||
Do not be afraid of him.
- 229 S...: Akintthuna omoova, akintthuna.
||: : P | O: ||i: P+O ||: P | |||
I do not want you to be afraid of him, I do not.
- 230 R!: Aan.
<X>
Yes.
- 231 S...: Kihimooove cayl?
||: mnr: Q: l' ? : P+O | A | |||
[The woman said:] How shall I not be afraid of him?
- 232 S...: Wiirliya: mhimooove.
||: Qt+pv: P/e=ps | Q: l'!: P+O | |||
He said: do not be afraid of him.
- 233 R!: Aan.
<X>
Yes.
- 234 S...: Wiirliya: pwoorera.
||: Qt+pv: P/e=ps | Q: l'nom: *S: cpl | h: ||a: P || | |||
She said: It is all right.

- 235 R!: Ann.
<X>
Yes.
- 236 S...: Masi yena neetta woova.
|||: & | S | P | OR: |||: P |||
But as for him, he remained scared.
- 237 R!: Aan.
<X>
Yes.
- 238 S...: Waale ola ola namoova.
|||: S:h: |||: P ||| | d | d | P |||
The one who came is scared.
- 239 R!: Aan.
<X>
Yes.
- 240 S*: Aan, namoova.
<X> | -P |||
Yes, he is scared.
- 241 S...: Oovaka ntoko cillcammo neera pwillraka: va
|||: Qt: A: |||: P | A: pp | h ||| | P | +P/ec | Q: |||: cpl+loc+?: S
vankookhala cayl
| P | A |
While he is scared like that, he said: what is going to happen?
- 242 S...: atthu ala vookela ovahliya apurukuma ene!
| +S: |||: a+exc.: O:h | d | P: aux | ncl/e=ps | OC |||
with this woman who has been given to me completely? !
- 243 R!: Aan.
<X>
Yes.
- 244 S...: Onkela aka akincuwela, onkhuma aka akincuwela.
|||: pri: O: |||: r/ac=loc: P | S ||| | P ||| pri: O: |||: r/ac=loc: P | S ||| | P |||
I do not know where I am coming from, I do not know where I am going to
- 245 R!: Aan.
<X>
Yes.
- 246 S...: Masi va onkhuma aka, kinamootha, kinaacuwela.
|||: & | A | O: |||: r/ac=loc: P | S ||| | : P > | P |||
But anyway, where I am coming from, I tell a lie, I do know.
- 247 R*: Kinaacuwela min.
| -P | S |||
I know it.
- 248 S...: Onkela aka pwiincuwela aka.
|||: pscft: O+F | P | '1 |||
It is where I am going that I do not know.
- 249 R!: Aayo.
<X>
Yes.
- 250 S...: Ehe, ahovira mahuku meeli.
|||: <X> | P | S: h | m |||
Right. Two days passed.
- 251 R!: Aan.
<X>
Yes.
- 252 S...: Howa.
|||: P |||
He [the host] came back.
- 253 R!: Aan.
<X>
Yes.
- 254 S...: Ollili ola onkhala mmoca woorupiya ola.
|||: cpl: S:h | d | P | SC | +S: |||: gl: P/e=ps ||| | d |||
There was only one bed to sleep on.

- 255 R!: Ehin.
<X>
Yes.
- 256 S...: Ooraaru.
||:mnr: S ||
All three of them [slept together]
- 257 R': Ooraaru.
| -S ||
All three of them.
- 258 S...: Opica orukunuwa mlopwana mkhu aya ole ole,
||:tmp+pv: P | OR: || i: P | S: h | a: [h | m | d | d] ||
mkhu awe taanrukunusa.
||:nom: S:h | | *S:cpl| h:[r: P+0] ||
When [the visitor] hesitated to turn [to the woman], it was his fellow
who made him turn.
- 259 S...: Weyo mlopwana orukunuwele nno waawehe ala.
||:O: [':! V: d | h+c | P/e=dr | L ||: P+0 | 0 ||
hey, man, turn towards her and face her.
- 260 R': Weyo waaweheke ala.
| -V | -P+0 | -0 |
Hey, you may face her.
- 261 S...: .We onhaawelani co?
||:?: V | P+0/? | A ||
Why are you suffering like this?
- 262 R!: Aayo.
<X>
Yes.
- 263 S...: Eeraka yoowo owo.
||:Qt: P | S ||
It was the [host] who was saying this.
- 264 R!: Aan.
<X>
Yes.
- 265 S...: Nnenci ole.
... | +S:h | d ||
The local one.
- 266 S...: Avirale mahuku mararu, khwiiriyaka: pahi.
||:: P | S:h | m ||ctv+Qt: P/e=ps | Q: [mnr: A] ||
Three days passed [and things went all right]. . .
- 267 S...: Vano yaale mahuku mararu avirale ale,
||:: & | A: d | h | m | m:[r: P] | d |
And those three days that passed
[When those three days passed]
- 268 R!: Aayo.
<X>
Yes.
- 269 S...: Heehaniya ole nnenci ole ole.
... | P/e=ps | S: d | h | d | d ||
The old one was summoned.
- 270 R!: Aayo.
<X>
Yes.
- 271 S...: Heehaniya.
| -P ||
He was summoned.
- 272 R': Heehaniya.
| -P ||
He was summoned.
- 273 S...: Woowu wu.
... | L ||
There,

- 274 R!: Aan.
<X>
Yes.
- 275 S...: Ommantariya awe ni yenani.
... | +L:ir: P/e=ps | S | & | +S: || ||
To the place where he too takes his orders.
- 276 R!: Aan.
<X>
Yes.
- 277 S...: Eneeriya: etoropa eyo moomaliha va mroweke owaani.
||: Qt+Indf: P/e=ps | Q:l': O: h | d | P/e=cs | A ||:!: P | L ||
He was told: you have finished your military duty, you can go home.
- 278 R*: Mroweke owaani.
| -P | -L ||
You can go home.
- 279 S...: Etoropa moomaliha.
||: O | P/e=cs | ||
You have finished the military duty.
- 280 R!: Aan.
<X>
Yes.
- 281 S...: Neera: koomaliha cayl?
||: Qt: P | Q:l':?: P/e=cs | A | ||
What, have I finished it?
- 282 S...: Eneeriya: moomaliha.
||: Qt+Indf: P/e=ps | Q:l': P/e=cs | ||
They said: [yes] you have finished it.
- 283 R!: Aan.
<X>
Yes.
- 284 S...: Neera: kihokoleele mtoropani mu.
||: Qt: P | Q:l': P/e=dr | L: h | d | ||
He said: please, may I continue in the army.
- 285 R!: Aan.
<X>
Yes.
- 286 S...: Eneeriya: mano, mano, moomaliha. Oroweke owaani.
||: Qt+Indf: P/e=ps | Q:l': <X> | P/e=cs ||:!: P | L ||
They said: absolutely not, you have finished. You can go home.
- 287 R*: Woomaliha va.
| -P | -A ||
you have finished already.
- 288 S...: Oroweke owaani.
| -P | -L ||
you can go home.
- 289 R~: Khinkuntuwariya tho.
||: P/e=ps | enc | ||
There is no resumption.
- 290 S...: Wiiriya: paahi clicammo kootthuna.
||: Qt+pv: P/e=ps | Q:l': A | :nom: *S> | P | ||
He said: all right, that is it, I agree.
- 291 R~: Wapacera wapacereke ekina.
||: mnr: l' ctg: P/e=apl | !: P/e=apl | O | ||
If you start, you will have to start afresh.
- 292 S...: Mhm, kootthuna
||: Q:l': <X> | P | ||
I agree [to go home].
- 293 R!: Aan.
<X>
Yes.

- 294 S...: Pwanomwilihana awe mkhu awe ole,
 ||:stv: P+0 | S | 0: h | m | d ||
 Then he called his fellow,
- 295 R!: Aan.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 296 S...: Khwilraka: mlopwana va etoropa koomaliha.
 ||:ctv+Qt: P | Q: [': <V> | A | 0 | P/e=cs ||
 And said: friend, I have finished my military duty.
- 297 R*: Koomaliha.
 | -P ||
 I have finished it.
- 298 S...: Kinamalihale etoropa,
 ||:csl: P/e=cs | 0 ||
 Since I have finished my military duty,
- 299 R!: Aan.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 300 S...: Vaakicivelesa,
 ...||: S:[r/ac=loc: P/e=apl+int/+0 || |...
 I would very much appreciate,
- 301 R!: Aan.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 302 S...: Kamaliha etoropa we, kinaahicuwela nihuku nnomaliha aa
 ...|| tmp: P/e=cs | 0 | S ||... | : P | 0: h | [r: P/e=cs | S || >
 that when you have finished your military duty, [it is a pity] I do not
 know the day you will finish.
- 303 R!: Aan.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 304 S...: Kaacuwelale kaakowilra: nihuku nnomaliha aa nooteene,
 ... ||:ctg: P || Qt: P | Q:[': A: h | [r: P/e=cs | S || | m |
 If I knew it I would say whatever day you finish,
- 305 R!: Aan.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 306 S...: Owe owannya aka awlikootole.
 | P | L: h | m || ppv: P+0 ||
 Come to my home and visit me.
- 307 R*: Awlikootole.
 | -P ||
 And visit me.
- 308 S...: NI minnyaano ti min kaako... masi akincuwela.
 ||:clft: & | T | S+F | <X> || & | P | ||
 And I myself would go. . . but I do not know [the place]
- 309 R!: Aayo.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 310 S...: Neera: pwareerale.
 ||:Qt: P | Q:[': nom: cpl | h [r/ac=loc: P] ||
 He [the visitor] said: it is all right.
- 311 R!: Aan.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 312 S...: Kamaliha ru nno kinaawa.
 ||:ctg: P | enc | L ||: P ||
 As soon as I finish here, I shall come [to Mampa-khoma]
- 313 R!: Aan.
 <X>
 Yes.

- 314 S...: Akeewootolekeni.
... || ppv: P | | ||
and visit you.
- 315 R!: Aan.
<X>
Yes.
- 316 S...: Wiirliya: va va.
||:Qt+pv: P/e=ps | l' nom: *S | ||
He said: all right.
- 317 S...: Ole oMampa-khoma wawe.
||:mnr: S | L: h | m ||
Then he [went] to his [home-land] Mampa-khoma.
- 318 R!: Aan.
<X>
Yes.
- 319 S...: Aphiya owaani wu,
||:tmp: P | L: h | d ||
When he got to his home there,
- 320 R!: Aayo.
<X>
Yes.
- 321 S...: OMampa-khoma pookomaka yena tikitikhili,
...| +L || ctv+ldp: P | S | Idp ||
He settled down in Mampa-khoma [and he lived] comfortably.
- 322 R!: Aayo.
<X>
Yes.
- 323 S...: Maana khanoona tho yoohaawela wu.
|| csl: c | P | enc | O:[gl: P/e=apl] | L ||
For he does not see any longer anything to worry him.
- 324 R+: Voohuupuwela tho?
||:?: A: [a: P | enc ||
Anything to think about.
- 325 S!: Aayo.
<X>
Yes.
- 326 S...: Ni nno ni ola ola nno,
||: & | L | & | S: d | d | l |
And there, the other one [from Erati]
- 327 R!: Aan.
<X>
Yes.
- 328 S...: Heetta mtoropani mmweee, malihale myaakha mili.
...| P | L: h | d ||: P | O: h | m ||
He went on in the army for long time, two years passed.
- 329 R*: Eyaakha pili.
| -O ||
Two years.
- 330 S...: Etoropa ele omaliha vano ni yena.
||:pv: O: h | d | P/e=cs | A | & | S ||
Until he too finished military service.
- 331 S...: Eneerliya: oroweke owaani.
||:Qt+indf: P/e=ps | Q:l' P | L | ||
They said: you can go home.
- 332 R!: Aayo.
<X>
Yes.
- 333 S...: Yaala ala oWiirati ala ala.
||: S: d | d | h: [g: pp|h] | d | d |
[It was] the one from Erati.

- 334 R!: Aayo.
<X>
Yes.
- 335 S...: Amphwanyera etala nno okenle aya nno nno,
| P/e=aol | O | L: d | || r/at=loc: P | S || | d | d ||
[When he returns home], he finds hunger over there where he went.
- 336 R+: Owannya aya Wilrati nwe?
||| mnr+?: L: h | m | r: [h | d]
There at his home in Erati.
- 337 S...: Etala yokhotto
... | +0: h | [g] |||
A hunger of war [a miserable hunger].
- 338 R+: Wilrati.
| -L |||
In Erati.
- 339 S*: Etala yo... yo...
| -0 |||
Hunger of. . .
- 340 R*: Etala!
||| mnr+excl: T |||
Hunger, my!
- 341 S...: Yaaliyaliya mwaana co.
|||:indf: P/e=ps | OR | A |||
Hunger that made [people] forget their child.
- 342 R+: Yaanaanukhaniya co.
|||:indf: P/e=rcp+ps | A |||
One was sniffing at another [for evidences of food]
- 343 S*: Omliyala mwaana.
|||:mnr+pv: P+0 | O |||
To forget their child.
- 344 R+: Tthiri!.
|||: mnr+excl: A |||
Sure!
- 345 S<: Paapa yaari ekhotto eyo.
|||:cpl: <V> | P | SC: h | S |||
Father, that was war.
- 346 R: Yaanokhala eyo.
|||:cpl: P | S |||
That happened.
- 347 S: Paapa yaari ekhotto eyo.
|||:cpl: <V> | P | SC: h | S |||
Father, that was war.
- 348 R: Masi kahi pi ela yo mitano ela, empheela
|||:nom+?: & | *S:pp | cpl | d | [g: pp | h] | d | ||r: P |
onikelela ela ?
O: ||i: P/e=dr/+0 || | d |||
But is not it like the hunger nowadays that threatens us?
- 349 S: Mhn, mwaha ola. Ola nnoopela mwaha.
|||:nom: <X> | *S: h | d |||: T | P | OR |||
[The present hunger] is a mere talking-point, we are only talking about it.
- 350 R: Mwaha ola?
| -*S |||
Talking-point?
- 351 S: Aan, mwana ncina naka Nnamoopeliya-mwaha.
|||: <X> | A: pp | h | m | c |||
Yes; like my name, Nnamoopeliya-mwaha [=the one people talk about]
- 352 R: Nkayi nyu.
||| mnr+exc: A | <V> |||
That is right.

- 353 S: Hata elelo!
 ||| mnr+exc: <X> | A |||
 Hey, today!
- 354 R: Nrowe.
 |||: P |||
 Let us carry on.
- 355 S>: Vano va vale,
 |||: & | A |
 And then,
- 356 R!: Aan.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 357 S...: amayi aya anaaphwanya tokhuuu, etala.
 | O: h | m | P+O | OC: || idp: idp | OR |||
 he found his mother immobilised by hunger,
- 358 R!: Aan.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 359 S...: Ataata aya, tokhuuu.
 ||| mnr: O: h | m | OC: || idp: idp || |||
 his uncle also immobilised,
- 360 R!: Aan.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 361 S...: Mwaanttetthe ene owo asimuci aya ootéene anatala.
 |||: nom: A: h | m | d | S: h | m | m | *S |
 The whole village all his relatives were oppressed by hunger,
- 362 R+: vaneeceliya ettuura vale.
 ...| A: || r/ac=loc: P/e=ps | O || d |||
 to the point that they were eating ashes.
- 363 S!: Aayo.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 364 S...: Ni ole mwaanlopwana ole aahokhala mwaanlopwana tthiri,
 |||: cpl: & | S: d | h | d | P | SC | A |||
 And that young man was a really fine young man
- 365 S...: maana ncurukhu awe aahowaana tthiri.
 ...|| csl: cnj | O: h | m | P/e=cmt | A |||
 because he brought a lot of money.
- 366 R!: Aayo.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 367 S...: Pwakumihale awe ncurukhu eminya pili ni ilivura mloko,
 |||: stv: P/e=cs | S | O: h | m: | h | m | | & | | h | a | |||
 And he took out money to the amount of 250 [libras]
- 368 R!: Aan.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 369 S...: Pwarowehale awe olooca, palisi,
 |||: stv: P/e=cs | S | L || mnr: O |||
 Then he took it to the shop [and bought] maize flour.
- 370 R!: Aan.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 371 S...: Waavaha ale.
 |||: pv: P+O | O |||
 And gave them.
- 372 R!: Aan.
 <X>
 Yes.

- 373 S...: Masi khaasitiri.
 |||: & | P+0 |||
 But he did not satisfy them.
- 374 R!: Aan.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 375 S...: Khaawerya.
 |||: P+0 |||
 He was not able [to satisfy them]
- 376 S...: Masi neera awaaka mahala, ehaavo elooca.
 |||:tmp: & | P/aux | ncl | A || cpl: P | S |||
 But no sooner had he come than, there is a shop.
- 377 R!: Aan.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 378 S...: Elooca ela ela ri mkunya ole veekha awe,
 |||:cpl: L: h | d | d | P | S:h | d | SC: h | m |||
 [In] this shop there is a white on his own,
- 379 R*: RI veekha awe.
 | -P | -SC |||
 He is alone.
- 380 S...: aamantari ole veekha awe.
 ...| +S: [[r: P]] | d | SC |||
 the one who was boss there on his own
- 381 R*: veekha awe.
 | -SC |||
 on his own.
- 382 S...: Vano ooreera "servente" okhala tho mmwe khaarivo tho.
 |||:cpl: & | S: m:[gi: P/aux | <h> | P/ncl | enc | L]] | P | enc |||
 Then there was none there to make a good employee.
- 383 R*: "servente" khaarivo tho.
 |||:cpl: S | P | enc |||
 There was no employee there.
- 384 S! : Ahin.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 385 S...: Vano yenani nenwale wiiriyaa: mn,
 |||: tmp: A | S | P | O:[[Qt+pv: P/e=ps | Q:I':cpl: <X>
 mwaalopwana haavo waale va,
 | S | P | SC:[[r: P | L]] |||
 Then, when he [the boss] heard that en. . . there is a young man who came nearby,
- 386 S...: khumale mtoropani naanaano,
 ...||: P | L | A |||
 he came from the army recently.
- 387 R!: Aan.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 388 S...: heehaniya wiiraa: awe wonno yoowo.
 ...||: P/e=ps | Q:i | I'!: P | L | S | |||
 [No sooner had he arrived than] he was invited to go himself.
- 389 R!: Aan.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 390 S...: Neehaniye arowaka woowu,
 |||: tmp: P/e=ps || ctv: P | L |||
 When he was called and went there,
- 391 S...: Eneeriyaa: kaawiihanela va, Aan.
 He was told: I called you, <X>
 Yes.

- 393 S...: Okunya onnocuwela wuuluma?
 ...|| ? : Q | < P > | Q: || (: P) || ||
 Portuguese, can you speak it [do you know how to speak it?]
- 394 S...: Khwiliraka: kinooluma kimwaneene, "quem e voce."
 |||: ctv+Qt: P | Q: l' clft: P | S+F ||| mnr: Q: l': < Portuguese > | | |||
 And he said: I speak [it] myself: "quem e voce" [who are you].
- 395 S...: Wiliriya: mn, akilrale okuulumele nna va.
 |||: Qt+pv: P/e=ps | Q: l' Qt: <X> | P | Q: l': P/e=apl/+0 | A | |||
 He said: no I am not asking you to speak it to me right now.
- 396 R~: Ake. oh:kuulumele cammo.
 |||: <U>...| P/e=apl/+0 | A | |||
 Do not speak to me like that.
- 397 S...: Aayo, So kinoolihana paahl.
 <X> |||: & | P+0 | A |||
 Yes, I only asked you to come.
- 398 R!: Aayo.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 399 R~: Aayo, we enaakuva aa wuuluma eyo pi eseeni?
 <X> |||: nom+?: V | S: || (r: P/aux | <S> | ncl || | d | *S: cpl|h | |||
 Why are you in such a hurry to speak?
- 400 S...: Vano va vale,
 |||: Qt+indf: A | A | |||
 And there then,
- 401 R!: Aan.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 402 S...: Eneeriya: kaawilhana va mteko.
 ...| P/e=ps | Q: l': P+0 | A | OP |||
 He was told: now I called you for a job.
- 403 R!: Aan.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 404 S...: Meeturu ala onnocuwela?
 |||: ? : Q: h | d | P | |||
 Do you know how to use the metre-rule?
- 405 S...: Khwiliraka: mn, kinsoma kimwaneene; keera: "quatro,
 |||: ctv+Qt: P | Q: l' clft: <X> | P | S+F |||: qtag: P | Q: l': < P
 quatro quatro quatro.
 ortuguese > | |||
 And he said: oh I can read myself; isn't it: quatro, quatro, quatro [Port.
 = four].
- 406 S...: Wiliriya: mn, ohuulume okunya owō.
 |||: Qt+pv: P/e=ps | Q: l': <X> | P | Q: h | d |||
 He said: do not speak Portuguese like that.
- 407 R~: Weyo, yookunya ela eseeni?
 |||: nom+?: <V> | S: h | d | *S | |||
 Oh you why are you so keen to speak Portuguese?
- 408 S...: Wiliriya: va va pwacivale.
 |||: Qt+pv: P/e=ps | Q: l' nom: S | *S: cpl|h: || (r/ac=loc: P || | |||
 And he said: that is all right.
- 409 R!: Aan.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 410 S...: Vano va vale vale,
 |||: Qt+indf: A | A | |||
 And then,
- 411 R!: Aan.
 <X>
 Yes.

- 412 S...: Eneeriyā: . elooca eyo pi ela ela.
 ...| P/e=ps | Q:(' nom: S:h | d | *S:cpl: | d | d ||
 He said: " this is the shop ".
- 413 R*: Pi ela.
 | -*S ||
 It is this one.
- 414 S...: Omantari we.
 ||:pv: P | S ||
 For you to manage.
- 415 R!: Aayo.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 416 S...: Min keehikhale we ohikoove va.
 ||:ctg: S | P ||: S | P+0 | L ||
 For me, if I am not here, do not be afraid of me.
- 417 R!: Aayo.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 418 S...: Othumiha wawaa va.
 ||:nom: S:[[I: P] | *S | L ||
 Selling is your [responsibility].
- 419 R!: Aan.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 420 S...: So palisi ola ola,
 ||:!: & | O:h | d | d | _
 However, as for the maize-flour,
- 421 R!: Aan.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 422 S...: etala elapo ela etala.
 ...| T | L:h | d | +T |
 there is famine in this area, a famine.
- 423 R!: Aan.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 424 S...: Palisi ola ola ohimkopihe anakhala vakaani.
 ...|+O:h | d | d | P/e=cs/+0 || ccv+cpl: P | SC ||
 This maize-flour do not sell it on credit even if it is a small quantity.
- 425 R~: Anahimiya mtthu okhala mwaapara aa,
 ||:cpl: P/e=ps/aux | ~<S> | P/nc | SC:h | m ||
 Even if the person is reckoned a friend of yours.
- 426 S...: Anahimiya, ohimkopihe mtthu.
 ...| _P/aux ||: P/e=cs/+0 | O2 ||
 Even so do not sell it to anybody.
- 427 R*: Anakhala mwaapara aa.
 ...|| ccv+cpl: P | *S: h | m | ||
 Even if it is your friend.
- 428 S...: So ewaakani-ewaakani.
 || mnr: & | A | ||
 Only: "next! , next! " [i. e. only take immediate cash payments]
- 429 R!: Aayo.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 430 S!: Aan.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 431 R!: Aan.
 <X>
 Yes.

- 432 S...: Hothumiha mommwee, vano mahuku meeli,
 ||: P/e=cs | L ||:Qt: & | A: h | m |
 He sold things there [for long time]. Then, two days [some time] after,
- 433 R!: Aan.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 434 S...: Ole neera: kinrowa wa amaama, mkunya ole.
 | S | P | Q:l: P | L | <+S: h | d >
 [the shop owner] said: " I am going to my mother's", the boss,
- 435 R!: Aan.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 436 S...: Kinkowootola wa amaama, kinaawa.
 ||: P | L ||: P ||
 I am going to visit my mother's, I will come.
- 437 S...: Cihaavo myeerl mithanu na mmoca kinari woowu.
 ||:cpl: P | S:h | m | & | m | A:[tmp+cpl: P | L] ||
 It will be six months I am there.
- 438 R*: Kinari woowu.
 | -P | -L ||
 I am there.
- 439 R<: Va owacera yaari efeeriya yeeyo?
 ||:cpl+?: A | <: P > | P | SC | S ||
 Now, I wonder, was it a holiday?
- 440 S: Yaari eferiya.
 | -P | -SC ||
 It was a holiday.
- 441 R: Efeeriya?
 | -SC ||
 a holiday.
- 442 S>: Masi we, --
 ||:!: & | V+S |
 But, as for you,
- 443 R!: Aan.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 444 S...: Ohihala wunteelela othumiha nno.
 | P/aux | ncl/e=apl | O:[i: P/e=cs] | L ||
 In my absence do not fail to sell things here.
- 445 R!: Ehin.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 446 S...: So kiiphwanye evaale.
 ||:!: & | P | O ||
 Only let me not find credits.
- 447 R!: Aan.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 448 S...: Va onamkophale kihimphwanye palisi ola ola.
 ||:!: A | OC:[i: P/e=cs/+O] | P+O | O: h | d | d | ||
 Now [because] you have been selling on credit, let me not find the maize-flour
 [gone].
- 449 R!: Aan.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 450 S...: Neera: anyumanyi.
 ||:Qt: P | Q:l: mnr: <U> ||
 He said: all right.
- 451 S...: Orowenyeke, min kinhala ovara mteko nno.
 ||:!: P/e=ps ||: S | P/aux | ncl | O | L | ||
 You may go. I shall remain doing my work here.

- 452 R!: Ehin.
<X>
Yes.
- 453 S...: Horowa ole . mkunya ole.
||: P | S: d | h | d ||
And he went, the boss.
- 454 R!: Aan.
<X>
Yes.
- 455 S...: Narowale mkunya ole,
||:tmp: P | S:h | d |
When the boss went,
- 456 R!: Ehin.
<X>
Yes.
- 457 S...: Yilriyaka: rowale ncana,
|< A:[Qt+Indf: P/e=ps | Q:f: P | A] || >|
the day after he went (lit. : when people could say: " he went yesterday".
)
- 458 R!: Aan.
<X>
Yes.
- 459 S...: Awaale pi amayi awe.
|| pscft: P | S+F ||
It was his mother who came [his mother came].
- 460 R+: Oomyana.
... | +S:[gi: P+O] ||
The one who gave birth to him.
- 461 S!: Mhn.
<X>
Yes.
- 462 S...: Ni nikhucaaku naya.
...| A: & | h | m ||
with her empty basket.
- 463 R!: Aan.
<X>
Yes.
- 464 S...: Yeeyo eweeliyo eyo yilriye: Mhammati.
||:tmp: A: d | h | d || indf+Qt: P/e=ps | Q: f: V | ||
As she came she said: Mhammati.
- 465 R!: Aan.
<X>
Yes.
- 466 S...: Khwilriyaka: ti minnyaano.
||:ctv+Qt: P/e=ps | Q:f'nom: *S | ||
And he said: here I am.
- 467 R!: Aan.
<X>
Yes.
- 468 S...: Wilriya: mkikopihe palisi.
||:Qt+pv: P/e=ps | Q:f: P/e=cs/+0 | 0 | ||
She said: sell me maize-flour on credit.
- 469 R!: Aan.
<X>
Yes.
- 470 S...: Khwilriyaka: palisi ola yilriye mihala
||: Qt+ctv: P/e=ps | Q:f' Qt+indf: 0: h | d | P/e=ps | Q: f' !: P/aux
mwinkopiha.
| ncl/e=cs/+0 | ||
And he said: this maize-flour, [the boss] said: " do not sell it on credit
in my absence".

- 471 R~: Apatarawu erowaka va yilrlye: mwilinkopihe.
 ||:Qt+indf: A: || tmp: S | P | A || | P/e=ps | Q: f' !: P/e=cs/+0) ||
 My boss when he was going away, it was told to me, "do not sell it on credit.
- 472 S! : Mhn.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 473 R~: Va maama mookolomla okilva.
 ||: A | S | P | OR: ||: P+0 || | ||
 Now, mother, you have started to kill me now.
- 474 S! : Mhn.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 475 R! : Aan.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 476 S...: Pwankumiha awe eminya khwilraka: ti ola ola kinaamphima va.
 ||:stv: P/e=cs | S | 0 ||:ctv+pv+Qt: P | Q: f'nom: *S ||: P+0 | A | ||
 And then, he took a hundred [libras of his own money] and said: this is
 the maize-flour I am measuring right now.
- 477 R! : Aan.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 478 S...: Ehopa vale co mloko khwilraka: nya.
 ||:mnr: 0 | A | +0 ||:ctv+Qt: P | Q: f' mnr: 0 ||
 And [he measured] five libras worth of the fish over there and said: "here
 you are",
- 479 R! : Aayo.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 480 S...: Maama mwalye.
 ||:!: S+V | P ||
 mother, go and eat.
- 481 R! : Aan.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 482 S...: Mwamafaka mwaweeke.
 ||:ctg: P ||: P | ||
 When you finish come back.
- 483 R! : Aan.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 484 S...: Eneerlya: cammo pwahintthuna aka.
 ||:Qt+indf: P/e=ps | Q: f'nom: S | *S: cpl|h: || r ||
 She said: that is not what I want.
- 485 R! : Aan.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 486 S...: Vaakicivelale va min,
 ||: S: ||r/ac=loc: P/e=apl/+0 < | d > | 0 || | ...
 What I would like,
- 487 R! : Aayo.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 488 S...: mkikopihe.
 ||:!: P/e=cs/+0 ||
 sell it to me on credit.
- 489 R*: Mkikopihe.
 | -P ||
 sell it to me on credit.
- 490 S...: Eva ahima ennyu ale, Acuuheeli, anaakhwa.
 ||: A | S: h | m | d | +S | P ||
 Now, your young brother, Cuuheeli, is going to die.

- 491 R+: Annalela okhwa nwe.
 |||: P/e=apl | O: || | P | L | |||
 He must end up by dying there.
- 492 S...: Eneerlya nyeenyu ankookhwani?
 |||: Qt+indf: P/e=ps | Q: !: excl+mnr: S || ? : P |||
 He said: oh, you, what is it going to die from?
- 493 R!: Aayo
 <X>
 Yes
- 494 S...: Nrowe.
 |||: !: P |||
 Please go.
- 495 R!: Aan.
 <X>
 Yes. Yes.
- 496 S...: Ahokhoola. Wira: mhm ni elooca ennyu yeeyo.
 |||: P ||| Qt+pv: P | Q: !: mnr: <X> | A: & ! h | m | d | |||
 And she left. She said: you [can keep] your shop.
- 497 R!: Aayo.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 498 S...: Yiraka wuyu, ataata awe, ahumu.
 |||: tmp+idp: P | Idp ||: S: h | m | +S |
 No sooner had she disappeared than his uncle, a clan leader,
- 499 R+: Ewaaka va vale?
 ... || +?: P | L |||
 came there.
- 500 S*: Aayo, ahumu awe aayo.
 |||: <X> | -S | <X> |||
 Yes his clan leader.
- 501 R+: Ootthapeliya.
 ... | +S: || gl: P/e=apl+ps |||
 Ceremonially appointed.
- 502 S...: Oo... phuveleelaka.
 ... | +S: || ctv: P/e=apl || |||
 with complete [ceremony]
- 503 R+: Nikankara.
 ... | +S |||
 An old man.
- 504 S!: Mhn mhn.
 <X> | <X>
 Yes, yes.
- 505 R+: Wookomiya kankara.
 ||| idp+indf: P/e=ps | Idp |||
 He sat down like an old man.
- 506 S<: Paapa,
 |||: V |
 Father,
- 507 R+: ni etala aya eyo.
 ... | A: & ! h | m | d |||
 with his hunger.
- 508 S: mwinkookaakha wuulumaca nwo paapa.
 ... | P+O | O2: h | d | V |||
 you are going to take away my speech, father.
- 509 R: Haya, mrowe.
 |||: <X> | P |||
 all right, go on.
- 510 S>: Vano va vale, vano va val
 |||: Qt+indf: & | A | +& | A |
 Now, then,

- 511 R!: Ehin.
<X>
Yes.
- 512 S...: Paapa,
_ | <V> |
father,
- 513 R!: Ehin.
<X>
yes.
- 514 S...: Eneerliya: kaawaale omkopa palisi.
... | P/e=ps | Q:f: P | OP:(I: P+0 | 0 |) ||
he said: I came to buy maize-flour on credit.
- 515 R*: Kaawaale omkopa palisi.
| -P | -OP ||
I came to buy maize-flour on credit.
- 516 S...: Pwiriya: palisi ola ookophiya khaavo.
||:ctv+Qt: P/e=ps | Q:f:cpl: S: h | d | SC: || gi: P/e=ps || | P ||
And he said: there is no maize-flour for sale on credit.
- 517 R*: Khaavo.
| -P ||
There is none.
- 518 S...: Mkunya arowaka eerale: mwilhalo mwinkopiha.
||:tmp: S | P || Qt: P | Q: f::: P/aux | ncl/e=cs/+0 | | ||
The boss when he went said: do not sell it on credit in my absence.
- 519 R!: Aan.
<X>
Yes.
- 520 S...: Eneerliya: mkikopihe.
||:Qt+indf: P/e=ps | Q:f::: P+0 | | ||
He said: sell it to me on credit.
- 521 S...: Neera: mano, mano.
||:Qt: P | Q:f: <X> | <X> |
He said: absolutely no.
- 522 R!: Aan.
<X>
Yes.
- 523 S...: Omkopa akintthuna.
... | O:(I: P+0) | P ||
I do not want to sell it on *credit*
- 524 S...: Va pwahimeeriye aka: mwilinkopihe va.
||:nom: S | *S:cpl:h: || r || | +S+Q: f::: P/e=cs/+0 | A | ||
This is what I was told: do not sell it on credit.
- 525 R!: Aan.
<X>
Yes.
- 526 S...: Eneerliya: mhn, minnyaano waakicivelale
||:Qt+indf: P/e=ps | Q:f: nom: <X> | S:(r/at=loc: 0 | P/e=apl/+0 || |
omkopa.
*S: ||: P+0 || | ||
[The old man] said: no, no, I wanted to buy it on credit.
- 527 R!: Aan.
<X>
Yes.
- 528 S...: Ahorowa ale.
||: P | S ||
Then he went.
- 529 S...: Masl arowale ni ecuku vale.
||: & | P | A: & | h | A ||
But he went resentfully.
- 530 R!: Ehin.
<X>
Yes.

- 531 S...: Masi hokumiha eminya vale homthuma haavaha.
 ||: & | P/e=cs | 0 | A ||: P+0 ||
 But [the young man] took out a hundred [libras], bought [flour] and gave it to him.
- 532 R!: Aan.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 533 S...: Anhinya: khankisekari.
 ||:Qt: P | Q:l': P+0 | ||
 He says: it is not enough for me.
- 534 R!: Aan.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 535 S...: Erowaka ale awaaka muulupale awe.
 ||:tmp: P | S ||: P | S: h | m ||
 As soon as he went there came his elder brother.
- 536 R!: Aan.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 537 S...: Eneerlya: palisi okikopihe.
 ||:Qt+indf: P/e=ps | Q: l': 0 | P/e=cs/+0 | ||
 He said: sell me maize-flour on credit.
- 538 S...: Khwlliraka: nyeenyu, eminya ela ela kinaam... lih
 ||:ctv+Qt: P | Q:l': V | T: h | d | d | <U> |... <U> |
 kimmakela ovaha paahi.
 P/aux | ncl | A ||
 and he said: oh you, these hundred [libras] I [give]. . . oh I am only giving and that is all.
- 539 R!: Ehin.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 540 S...: Va eminya ela ela koomphima mwinkuseke.
 ||: A | h | d | d | P+0 ||: P+0 ||
 Now, these hundred [libras] I have measured it out now, take it.
- 541 R!: Ehin.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 542 S...: Mwammala mwaweeke va va.
 ||:ctg: P ||: P | L | ||
 When you finish it come back here.
- 543 S...: Eneerlya: mm, omkopha.
 ||:Qt+indf: P/e=ps | Q:l' mnr: <X> | O: ||: P+0 || | ||
 He said: no, no put it on credit.
- 544 R!: Ehin.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 545 S...: Vano chorowarowenya.
 ||: A | P/e=clt+ps ||
 Then, they all went.
- 546 S...: Onaphinye wu,
 ||:tmp: P/e=ps | L ||
 When they met together there [the customers],
- 547 R!: Aayo.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 548 S...: Wllriya: aMhammati ahophwanya elooca keera,
 ||:Qt+pv: P/e=ps | Q: l':? S | P | U | A ||
 They said: Mhammati, he has got a shop, hasn't he?
- 549 R*: Eva ahophwanya elooca.
 ||: A | P | O ||
 Indeed, he has got a shop.

- 550 S...: Pi nnyakareela aya.
 ||:nom: S+:cpl | ||r: P/e=apl | S ||
 That is what gives him airs.
- 551 R!: Aayo.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 552 S...: Hin ahonunnyeela onlwacera.
 ||:: O | P+O | OR:||i: P/e=apl/+O ||
 He has given up caring for us.
- 553 R!: Aayo.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 554 S...: Anoona aneene ayo.
 ||:: P | S: h | d ||
 He will see [what becomes of him].
- 555 R!: Aan.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 556 S...: Vaava vahimmwa aya aneene ilooca nyo,
 ||:: A: d | h:||r/ac=loc: P | S | +S: h | m:[h | d] ||
 The owner of the shops does not come [if only he would!]
- 557 R!: Ahin.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 558 S...: Amkunya awo.
 ...| +S: h | d | ||
 The white man, [the boss].
- 559 R!: Ahin.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 560 S!: Aan, aan.
 <X> | <X>
 Yes, yes.
- 561 R!: Aan.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 562 S...: Vano yenani nahalale nno,
 ||:tmp: & | S | P | L ||
 Then, when-he [the young man] remained there,
- 563 R!: Aan.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 564 S...: hothumiha yoole oleee, hothumiha, hothumiha, hothumihaaa, ncurukhu
 ...||: P/e=cs | S: d | d | =P | =P | =P | T
 mhn,
 | <U> |
 he sold, he sold, he sold, he sold, money, oh,
- 565 S...: aahophwanya ncurukhu,
 ...| P | +O |
 he took [lots of] money.
- 566 R!: Aan.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 567 S...: ecaakho kuuhimeeryeni va!
 ...| +O | : P/e=apl > | A |
 bags, I tell you, like this.
- 568 R!: EhIn.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 569 S<: Wunnuwelo aya; ah, kihire va,
 ...| +O: h | m ||:Qt: <X> | P | Q: [' A] ||
 Its huge amount; let me not say "like this"/"here".

- 570 R: Nyu nhilre va.
 ||:!:Qt: V+S | P | Q: !: A | ||
 Do not say: "here".
- 571 S: Aayo, kilre wuu.
 ||:Qt+!: <X> | P | Q: !: L | ||
 Yes, let me say: "there".
- 572 R: Aayo.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 573 S: Woonu wu.
 ...| +L ||
 Over there,
- 574 R: Aayo, mwilreke wu.
 ||:!:Qt: <X> | P | Q: !: L | ||
 Yes, say: "there".
- 575 S: Ori aya wu.
 ...| +L: ||r/ac=loc: P | S || d ||
 where it is.
- 576 R: Aayo, okowlira va, onkookhala toko va va.
 ||:ctg: <X> | P | Q: ||: A || || cpl: P | SC: ||: A | L || ||
 Yes, if you say "like this" "here", it is going to be like "right here"
- 577 S: Mhn.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 578 R: Mwilreke wu.
 ||:!: P | Q: ||: L || ||
 Say: "there".
- 579 S: Aayo, va va.
 ||:nom: <X> | *S ||
 Yes, exactly.
- 580 R: Aan.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 581 S>: Vano va vale vale, paapa vale,
 ||:tmp: & | A: d | d | <V> | d |
 Then, my father, [that is when]...
- 582 R!: Aan.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 583 S...: Nawaale ole mkunya ole nihuku nnowaa awe ole,
 ...| P | S: d | h | d || tmp: A: h | ||r: P | S || d ||
 When the boss came, the day he came (lit. he comes)
- 584 R!: Ehin.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 585 S...: Awaaka yeerlye: Mhammati.
 ...||: +tmp: P ||:Qt+Indf: P/e=ps | Q: !: V ||
 as soon as he arrived said: Mhammati.
- 586 R!: Aan.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 587 S...: Khwiliraka: ti miyaano.
 ||:ctv+Qt: P | Q: !:nom: *S: cpl | h | ||
 And he answered: here I am.
- 588 S...: Eseeni mteko waavara aa va?
 ||:nom: *S | S: h | ||r: P | S | L || I ||
 What work have you been doing here?
- 589 R!: Aan.
 <X>
 Yes.

- 590 S... Pwankumiha awe ecaakho ele vale: phi.
 ||:stv+ldp: P/e=cs | S | O: h | d | L | ldp || It is then that he took out (he takes) that bag there, plonk!
- 591 R!: Aan.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 592 S... Ecaakho vale: phi, wo mataakhuru, ole wo yuuma.
 ||:ldp: O:h | L | ldp | +0: [g: pp | h || nom: S | *S: [g: pp | h] || That bag there, plonk! , in notes; the other in coins.
- 593 R!: Aayo.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 594 S... Mkunya pwaalakelale awe valeee, wiiriya: "nampoti",
 ||: stv: +S | P | S | A ||:Qt+pv: P/e=ps | Q:l: A | The boss counted on and on, and he said: It cannot be,
- 595 R!: Aan.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 596 S... Akimmala.
 | P | || I cannot finish.
- 597 R!: Aan.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 598 S... Pwaketale awe wo mataakhuru ole: yevele, yevele, wiira:
 ||: stv+ldp: P | S | O: h:[g | d | ldp || Qt+pv: P
 "nata" khummukuwa.
 | Q: l: A | P | || And he starts on the notes thumbing through them and he said: no, it does not diminish.
- 599 R!: Ehin.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 600 S... Masi Mhammati mrima aa pi wo wilcayi?
 ||:nom+?: & | <V> | S:h | m | *S:cpl | h || Indeed, Mhammati, what is your heart like? ! [how faithful you are!]
- 601 S... Ohoreera mrima weyo va!
 ||:excl: P | OR | S | L || You have a good heart! [how nice you are!]
- 602 R!: Ehen.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 603 S... Paahi ehaana... kihaana efeesita va,
 ||:cpl: A | X... | P | O:l: i: O | L | Therefore, I shall have a party here,
- 604 R!: Aayo.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 605 S... winniha ya waa.
 | P/e=cs | +0 || to celebrate for you.
- 606 R*: Ya waa weyo va we.
 | -0 || for yourself.
- 607 S... Ewompe emoca kinaahita va,
 ||: O: h | m | P | L || I shall kill one cow for you.
- 608 R!: Aan.
 <X>
 Yes.

- 609 S...: Wuuvaha.
... || ppv+pv: P+0 ||
To give to you.
- 610 R!: Aayo.
<X>
Yes.
- 611 S...: Va anamanloko aa kinamweehana.
||: A | O:h | m | P+0 ||
I will invite your clansmen.
- 612 R~: Kinamweehanaca va ewaaceke va va.
||: P/e=clt/+0 | A || ppv: P | L ||
I will call them all here for them to come right here.
- 613 S!: Aan
<X>
Yes.
- 614 R~: Ayeelyeke efeesita.
... || ppv: P | O | I ||
to come and eat the feast.
- 615 S...: Yiliraka cammo, Mhammati neera: minnyaano va nenne nenne,
||:tmp: P | A ||:Ot: S | P | O:l': S | I | A |
warowen'ye ru,
+A:llr: P/e=ps | enc ||
No sooner had he said so than, Mhammati said (says): I myself here, ever
since you went,
- 616 R!: Aan.
<X>
Yes.
- 617 S...: Akinarowa owaani wootola.
...||: P/aux: < L > | ncl ||
I have not gone yet home to visit.
- 618 R!: Aayo.
<X>
Yes.
- 619 S...: Kinaapheela okowootola owaani.
||: P | O:ll: P | L || I ||
I need to go and visit home.
- 620 R!: Aan.
<X>
Yes.
- 621 S...: Pwankumihya aya ekontu piili, wiiriya: 'mata
||:stv+pv: P/e=cs+ps | S | O:h | m ||:ctv+Qt+pv: P/e=ps | Q:l'
bisu' weyo.
:nom: *S | V+T ||
Then the boss took out two thousand [libras] and said: here is your reward.
- 622 R~: Orowaka olyaka.
||:!: P/aux | ncl ||
Spent as you go.
- 623 S...: Oroweke.
||:!: P ||
You can go.
- 624 R~: Waweeke.
||:!: P ||
You must come.
- 625 S...: Wiikela wapica we.
||:!: P/aux | ncl | S+V | ||
Do not stay there long.
- 626 R!: Aayo.
<X>
Yes.
- 627 S...: Wiiriya: kinawaa.
||:ctv+Qt+pv: P/e=ps | Q:l': P | I ||
He said: I shall come.

- 628 R!: Aan.
<X>
Yes.
- 629 S...: Eeraka: wuyu, ewaaka amayi awe ale ni apaapa awe.
||:tmp+ldp: P | Idp ||: P | S:h | m | d | +S: & | h | m ||
No sooner had he disappeared than his mother and his father came
- 630 R!: Aan.
<X>
Yes.
- 631 S...: Oomyara va.
... | || gl: P+0 | A ||
Those who gave birth to him.
- 632 R!: Aayo.
<X>
Yes.
- 633 S...: Eeneriya: hooti.
||:Qt+Indf: P/e=ps | Q:l: P | ||
They said: may we come in?
- 634 S...: Hootiani.
||:mnr: Q: l: P | ||
Do come in [the boss replied.]
- 635 R!: Aan.
<X>
Yes.
- 636 S...: Neera mkunya ole pwiraka: khuu, pi amaama
||:Qt: P | S: h | d | +P/ec | Q:l:nom+excl+?: <X> | *S:cpl | h
ala?!
| d | ||
The boss said: Goodness! Is this my mother?
- 637 S...: Wiriya: Aan.
||:Qt+pv: P/e=ps | Q: l:<X> | ||
She said: oh yes.
- 638 R!: Aan.
<X>
Yes.
- 639 S...: Wiriya: amayi awe Mhammati?
||:Qt+pv: P/e=ps | Q: l:mnr+?: S: h | m | r | ||
He said: the mother of Mhammati?
- 640 S...: Wiriya: mhn, mhn, minnyaano khweeli.
||:Qt+pv: P/e=ps | Q:l:nom: <X> | *S | A ||
She said: sure, sure, it is me, certainly.
- 641 R~: Kihowa va.
||: P | L | ||
I have come.
- 642 S...: Eeneriya: khwoo wookomiyeye va.
||:Qt+Indf: P/e=ps | Q:l:excl: <X> || !+loc: P/e=ps | S | ||
He said: oh, do sit down here.
- 643 S...: Pwanomkumiha awe sikaro khwaavahaka.
||:stv: P/e=cs/+0 | S | 0 || ctv: P+0 ||
And then he took out cigarettes and gave to them,
- 644 S...: Wiriya: aliyeke, wookomiyeye oratta ene.
||:Qt+pv: P/e=ps | Q: l: !: P/e=ps || loc: P/e=ps | A | ||
and said: do smoke and do sit down comfortably.
- 645 R!: Ehin.
<X>
Yes.
- 646 S...: Khwiraka: salama?
||:ctv+Qt: P | Q: l:nom+?: *S | ||
Then, he said: are things all right?
- 647 S...: Wiriya: salama.
||:Qt+pv: P/e=ps | Q:l:nom: *S | ||
They said: all right.

- 648 S...: Khwiiraka: moomyara mwaana ooreera nrima "multo pen",
 ||:Qt+ctv: P | Q: l' P+O | O: h | m: ||gl: P | OR | A || ||
 And he said: you gave birth to a son who is very good,
- 649 R!: Aayo.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 650 S...: "multo" oreera va.
 ...| +A ||
 Very good, indeed.
- 651 R!: Aan.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 652 S!: Aayo.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 653 R~: vookicivela ni minnyaano mwaheene elooa va va.
 ... | A: il a: P/e=apl+O | O: <&> h | a: [h | a | l | l] ||
 the way he pleases me, the owner of this shop.
- 654 S...: Venci ene, oreera venci.
 ...| +A | -P | -A | ||
 Very good, indeed, very good.
- 655 R!: Aayo.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 656 S...: Khuu.
 <X>
 Oh!
- 657 S...: Khwiiraka yenani wiira: Mhammati va kinamhiyale va mcurukhu
 ||:Qt+ctv: P | S | Q: l' | l':tmp: O | L | P+O | L || mnr+excl: O: h
 ophwanyale aka
 | ||r: P | S || ||
 And he said: when I left Mhammati, the money that I found here [when I
 returned],
- 658 S...: mrima ole omreera masi omreera!
 ...|| pv+!: T+S | T+O/r=at | P+O | & | =P+O ||
 he has got good heart, good indeed.
- 659 R!: Aan.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 660 S...: Va "taqui a nata" vampheela aka va,
 ||:cpl: A | +A | T: || r/at=loc: P | S | A || |
 Now, in a few days I Port. daqui a nada= shortly] what I want,
- 661 R!: Aayo.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 662 S...: Kihaana efeesita winniha,
 ...| P | O: || l: O | P/e=cs | ||
 I have a party to celebrate,
- 663 R!: EhIn.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 664 S...: ya wawe yenani owo.
 ...| +O: | ||
 for him.
- 665 R!: Aan.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 666 S...: Aneera ale: mhn, mhn, mhu, apwaka tthiri; nriya
 ||:Qt: P | S | Q: l' excl+mnr: <U> | <U> | A ||:indf+?: P/e=ps
 efeesita?
 | Q: l' mnr: O | ||
 She said: how foolish you are, did you say celebration? !

667 R!: Aayo.

<X>

Yes.

668 S...: Wiriya: efeesita.

||:Qt+pv: P/e=ps | Q: l' mnr: 0 -1 |||

He said: celebration.

669 R!: Aan.

<X>

Yes.

670 S...: Wiriya: iata khavalokale va va tthiri.

||:Qt+pv: P/e=ps | Q: l' excl+loc: A | P | S | A |||

She said: oh that is not good at all.

671 R!: Ehn.

<X>

Yes.

672 S...: Nnyaru no veekha, amkunya!

||:nom: *S: h | m: [g: pp: h | | <V> |||

[You have] only one ear, sir. [so you don't hear what people say about you]

673 R!: Aayo.

<X>

Yes.

674 S...: AMhammati alokihaleni mcurukhu mu! mnooniha toko mwakbophwanya

||:excl: S | P/e=cs/+0 | OR | L ||: P | Q: i | l': P

vakaani va.

| OC | A | |||

What of good did Mhammati do with money here; do you think that you would have found so little here? !

675 R!: Ehin.

<X>

Yes.

676 S...: Mcurukhu ophwanyale aya va!

||:mnr+excl: T: h | l'r: P | S | A |||

All the money he found here!

677 R!: Aan.

<X>

Yes.

678 S...: Enwo ohitto nwo aho... nwo elooca aya enwo ahottenla.

||: L: d | h | d | <X>... | L | Q: h | m | L | P |||

Down over there, he did. . . he. . . there he has opened his own shop.

679 R~: Ahotthukula elooca aya enwo.

||: P | O | L |||

He has opened his own shop.

680 S...: Eri elooca va.

||:cpl: P | S | A |||

There is a shop.

681 R~: AMhammati.

... | T |||

Mhammati.

682 S~: AMhammati.

| -T |||

Mhammati

683 S...: Nno nno nno waahaalu aya nno nno,

||:cpl: L: j | d | d | h | m | d | d |

Over there, at his father-in-law's place,

684 R!: Aayo.

<X>

Yes.

685 S...: Eri elooca,

... | P | S |||

there is a shop.

- 666 R~: Oweha epuri!
 |||:excl: T:((i: P | O)) |||
 You should see the goats!
- 687 S...: othelale aya.
 ...|+L: ((r/ac=loc: P | S)) |||
 where he has married.
- 688 R~: Oweha enyompe!
 |||:excl: T:((i: P | O)) |||
 You should see the cows!
- 689 S...: Mcurukhu wooteene ohorowa.
 |||: S: h | m | P |||
 All the money went.
- 690 R!: Aan.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 691 S...: Nnyaru no veekha nyu. "So" kaawaale oruna mahanyu
 |||:nom: *S: h | m | <V> |||: & | P | OP: ((i: P | O
 va.
)) | L | |||
 [You have] only one ear, you; but I came to express my denials.
- 692 R!: Va.
 | -L |||
 Now.
- 693 S<: Mahanyu mwinnocuwela?
 |||:+: O | P |||
 Denials, do you know what they are? [to the Investigator]
- 694 R~: Mwiikela mweera: wa amayi awe pi wennyaaathi awe.
 ... ||: P/aux | ncl | Q: [pscft: S: pp | h | m | P) |||
 So that you should not say it was his mother's where he was keeping [the
 money].
- 695 S: Nyenyu mahanyu mwinnocuwelaka, oruna nwo?
 |||:?: V | O | P | +O: h | d |||
 Oh you, denials, do you know what it is? It is to deny.
- 696 R: Oruna?
 | -O |||
 To deny?
- 697 S!: Aayo.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 698 R~: Kaawaale oruna va.
 ...||: P | OP:((i: P)) | L |||
 I came to deny.
- 699 S...: Mhn mhn, otthukiya okiwereya.
 |||:pv: <X> | S:((i: P/e=ps)) | P/+O |||
 yes, to be arrested is painful to me.
- 700 R!: Aan.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 701 S...: AMhammati enkookhuma meelo mwiikikohe; mcurkhu ennyu va
 |||: T | O:((r+indf: P | A)) | P+O |||: O: h | m | A
 horoweeha.
 | P/e=cs | |||
 As for Mhammati, what will happen tomorrow do not ask me; your money he
 took it with him.
- 702 R!: Ehln.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 703 S...: Neera mkunya ole: mhn, khweeli?
 |||:Qt: P | S: h | d | Q: [': nom+?: <X> | *S | |||
 The boss said: what, is it true?
- 704 S...: Wiiriya: va va.
 |||:Qt+pv: P/e=ps | Q: [': nom: *S | |||
 She said: that is it.

- 705 R~: Mnaahimya maama?
 ||: mnr:Q: [':+?: P | V+S] ||
 Are you telling the truth, madam?
- 706 S...: Khweeli?
 | -+S ||
 True?
- 707 S...: Wiirliya: va va.
 || -P | [':nom: -+S] ||
 She said: that is it.
- 708 R!: Aan.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 709 S...: Wiirliya: mhn, maana etthu ela ahimyaale pi
 ||:Qt+pv: P/e=ps | Q:[csl+pscift: <U> | cnj | O: h | d | P |
 amayl awe,
 S+F ||
 He said: yes, because it was his mother who said this,
- 710 R~: Ala khaanootha, amayl awe oomyara.
 ...||: S | P ||: nom: +S: h | m | m:[g: P+O] | ||
 she cannot tell lies, [she is] his mother by whom he was born.
- 711 S...: Aan, ala 'nam poti' wiira wootha ala.
 <X> ||: S | P/aux | ncl | +S] ||
 Yes, she cannot tell lies, this woman.
- 712 R!: Aayo.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 713 S...: Yiliraka ale: vine,
 ||:tmp+ldp: P | S | ldp ||
 As soon as she dropped out of sight,
- 714 R!: Aan.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 715 S...: Awaaka mkina.
 ...||: P | S ||
 there came another.
- 716 R!: Aan.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 717 S...: Nawaale mkina yoole ole ataata ale, ahumu awe ale pi
 ||:tmp: P | S:h | d | d ||: : nom: S: h | d | +S: h | m | d | +S:
 awaale.
 cpl | h:[r:P] >
 When the other man came, the uncle of him, his clan leader, it was he who came.
- 718 R!: Aan.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 719 S...: Anawaale ahumu awe ale eneeriya pwiliraka: min
 ||:tmp: P | S: h | m | d ||:Qt+Indf: P/e=ps | +P/ec | Q:[': S
 kaaawaale oruna mahanyu.
 | P | OP:[i: P | O] | ||
 When the clan leader came, he said: I came to discharge my denials
- 720 R~: Masi ele ena... ehoninyakulela ele!
 ||:!: & | S | <X>... | P/e=apl/+O | +S ||
 But, that is. . . that is making a noise for us. [comment on noisy tractors outside]
- 721 S: Nyenyu enavira.
 ||: V+T | P ||
 Oh you, it will pass.
- 722 R: Enaavira?
 | -P ||
 Will it pass?

- 723 S: Aayo.
<X>
Yes.
- 724 R: Paahi.
<X>
All right.
- 725 S: Enaavira, hin nuulumace va nillawe.
||: P ||: S | P | L ||: P ||
It will pass; let us talk here and enjoy ourselves.
- 726 R: Paahi nroweke.
||: & | P ||
Then, let us go.
- 727 S>: Vano va vale vale,
||:tmp: & | A |
Then thereupon,
- 728 R!: Aan.
<X>
Yes.
- 729 S...: Enavirale, <: ah moneeke kookusenra tho eyo!
... | P |... ||:excl: <X> | P | O: ||: P/apl | enc | O || ||
When it passed, oh, look, I was disturbed by it again!
- 730 R: Ah khamwaahimya?
||:?:<X> | P ||
Did you just not say [It is passing, let us talk]?
- 731 S: Eh ah ah ah.
<X>
eh ah ah ah.
- 732 S>: Vano va vale vale,
||:tmp: & | A |
Then, thereupon,
- 733 R!: Aayo.
<X>
Yes.
- 734 S...: ataata awe ale anawaale aneera pwiliraka: minnyaano
... | S: h | m | d | P ||:Qt: P | +P/ec | Q:I* nom: I
waakicivelale...
| S: ||r/ac=loc: P/e=apl/+0 |...
when his uncle came he said: I would like. . .
- 735 R!: Aan.
<X>
Yes.
- 736 S...: Kaawaale va okhottacera itthu cene nyo cootene okhottacera.
||: P | L | OP: ||: P/e=clt | O: h | m | d | m | +P || ||
I came here to deny everything, to deny it.
- 737 R!: Aan.
<X>
Yes.
- 738 S...: Meelo mwilikiphwanje.
||: A | P+0 ||
Tomorrow, do not come to me [seeking redress].
- 739 R!: Aan.
<X>
Yes.
- 740 S...: AMhammati anahanle va mcurukhu wootene aholovola ahorowa.
||:tmp: S | P | L ||: O: h | m | P ||: P || ||
Mhammati while he remained here he transported the entire money, he went.
- 741 R*: Eva aholovola.
| -A | -P ||
He really transported it.
- 742 S...: Eva ahorowa.
| -A | -P ||
He really went.

743 R!: Aan.

<X>

Yes.

744 S...: Ahorowa cayl?

||:mnr:Q: l':? : P | A | ||

How did he go?

745 S...: Wiiriyaa: ahorowa va; mwilinct.

||:Qt+pv: P/e=ps | Q:l': P | A ||: mnr: I ||

He said: he went, [with] lots [of it].

746 R!: Aan.

<X>

Yes.

747 S...: Va owo ophwanyale enyu miraru owo owo, mhn mhn

||:nom: A | S: d | h:lr: P | S || | m | d | d | <X>

nyaru no veekha nno.

| *S: h | m | d | ||

The 3 [libras] (little money) that you found it is because [you have] only a single ear.

748 R~: Eva nyaru no veekha.

| -A | -*S ||

A single ear, indeed.

749 S...: Ole hosoma khwiraka: "afinale" ah, omalelale aya,

||: S | P ||:ctv+Qt: P | Q:l':excl: A | <X> | A:lr/ac=loc: P | S |

etthu ela aan!

| | T: h | d | <X> ||

He reflected and said: this business, oh yes,

750 S...: "Sertu" alhammatl ahopakaca etthu.

||: A | S | P | O ||

true, Mhammatl did this business.

751 R!: Aan.

<X>

Yes.

752 S...: Kinaarowa okookasari.

||: P | OP: (l': P ||) ||

I shall go and complain.

753 R!: Aan.

<X>

Yes.

754 S<: Khalayl yiiriyaka: oparasa.

||:Indf: A | P/e=ps | Q:l': mnr: L | ||

In those times we said: the praca [colonial administration] office!

755 R: Oparasa.

| -L ||

The praca.

756 S>: Kinaarowa oparasa okookasari.

||: P | L | OP:(l': P ||) ||

I shall go to the praca and complain.

757 S...: Naphiyale oparasa khwiraka: kihowa,

||:tmp: P | L ||:Qt+ctv: P | Q:l': P ||

When he arrived at the praca he said: I have come,

758 R!: Aan.

<X>

Yes.

759 S...: elooca pl etthukulale aka min; kinatthukulale elooca

...||: nom: S | *S:cpl | h: lr: P | S | +S ...||:tmp: P/e=rv | O: h

ele, koomwiithana

| d ||: P+O |

there was a shop I opened; when I opened that shop, I invited [someone]

760 S...: mwaanlopwana haavo neehaniya Mhammatl.

...| O:h | m:(cpl: P ||) | lr: P/e=ps | SC ||

there was a young man who was called Mhammatl.

- 761 R!: Aan.
<X>
Yes.
- 762 S...: Ki... haanca othumha.
||: <X> | P | O:[i: P] ||
I... he started selling.
- 763 R!: EhIn.
<X>
Yes.
- 764 S...: Masi kaahokupali, wiira nihuku niwaale aka kaahoncukhurela.
||: & | P ||:csi: c| | A:h | ||r: P | S || | P/e=apl/+0 ||
But I had confidence in him that... the day I came I was grateful to him.
- 765 R!: AhIn.
<X>
Yes.
- 766 S...: Min khwiiraka: mlopwana' ola tthiri.
||:Qt+ctv: S | P | Q:l':nom: *S:h | d | A | ||
I said: this is a really [good] young man.
- 767 R!: EhIn.
<X>
Yes.
- 768 S...: Masi nna va ahowa amayi awe ahokihimeerya wiira:
||: & | A | P | S:h | m ||:Qt: P/e=apl/+0 | Q:l |
But now, his mother came and told me that,
- 769 S...: mm, mm, mcurukhu wootene homala olovola.
...f: <U> | O: h | m | P | O:[i: P] | ||
far from it, he has completely taken away all the money.
- 770 R!: Een.
<X>
Yes.
- 771 S...: Ahowa apaapa awe ahokihimeerya cicammo.
||: P | S:h | m ||: P/e=apl/+0 | O ||
His father came and told me the same thing.
- 772 R!: Aan.
<X>
Yes.
- 773 S...: Ahowa atata awe ahokihimeerya cicammo.
||: P | S:h | m ||: P/e=apl/+0 | O ||
So did his uncle and told me the same thing.
- 774 R!: Aan.
<X>
Yes.
- 775 S...: Kihoona wiira enhimiya ele ekhweeli.
||: P | Q:l | l': nom: S:[r: P/e=ps] | d | *S | ||
I saw, [therefore], that what they say is true.
- 776 R~: Eva kahi etthu yo woothiya.
||:nom: A | *S: pp | h | m: || gl: pp| P/e=ps] | ||
It is not a false report, indeed.
- 777 S*: Kahi yo woothiya.
| -P ||
It is not untrue.
- 778 R!: Aan.
<X>
Yes.
- 779 S...: Vano kooweela okasari.
||: & | P/e=apl | OP:[i: P] | ||
So, I came to complain.
- 780 R!: Aan.
<X>
Yes.

- 781 S...: Wiiriyā: vakaani va va pahi?
 ||:Qt+pv: P/e=ps | Q:l': nom+?: *S | A ||
 They said: so it is a little [matter] then?
- 782 R!: Aan.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 783 S...: AMhammati anamwihanīya.
 ||: S | P/e=ps | ||
 Mhammati will be called.
- 784 R*: Anamwihanīya va.
 | -P | A ||
 He will be called right now.
- 785 S...: Pwaneehaniya aya aMhammati khuwaaka.
 ||:stv: P/e=ps | S | +S ||:ctv: P ||
 And then, Mhammati was called and came.
- 786 R!: Aan.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 787 S...: Anawaale aMhammati: mkuwelale cayi?
 ||:tmp: P | S ||mnr: l':?: P | A | ||
 When Mhammati came [he was asked]: what do you know [about these accusations]?
- 788 S...: Wiira: min akincuwela.
 ||:Qt+pv: P | Q:l': S | P ||
 He said: I do not know [anything]
- 789 R*: Akincuwela.
 | -P ||
 I do not know.
- 790 S...: Masi okhala wiira ahohimya amaama ni apaapa ni ataata,
 ||:csl: & | cj | P | S | +S: &l' h | +S: &l' h ||
 But since my mother and my father and uncle said it,
- 791 R!: Aan.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 792 S...: Koopaka, masi akicuwelale.
 ||: P ||: & | P | ||
 Yes, I am guilty, however I know nothing.
- 793 R*: Akicuwelale.
 | -P ||
 I do not know anything.
- 794 S...: Wiiriyā: wootha.
 ||:Q:l':Qt+pv: P/e=ps | Q:l':pv: P ||
 They said: you are lying.
- 795 R!: Aan.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 796 S...: Nyu amayi enyu... mhm, mnamootha.
 ||: V+T | S:h | ||: <U> | P | ||
 Look, it is your mother who... ugh, you are lying.
- 797 S...: Wiiriyā: pi naaca aka.
 ||:Qt+pv: P/e=ps | Q:l':nom : *S: cpl; h: || r: P | S || | ||
 He said that is what I mean.
- 798 R!: Ayo.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 799 S...: Wiiriyā: paahi moolikana va.
 ||:Qt+pv: P/e=ps | Q:l': A | P | A ||
 They said: now you are done for.
- 800 R*: Moolikana va.
 | -P | -A ||
 You are done for.

- 801 S...: Va,
||: A |
Now.
- 802 R!: Aan.
<X>
Yes.
- 803 S...: nnamwiihana amayi enyu.
...| P+O | O:h | m | ||
we will call your mother.
- 804 R!: Aan.
<X>
Yes.
- 805 S...: Pwaneehaniya amayi awe,
||:stv: P/e=ps | S:h | m |
And his mother was called,
- 806 R+: apaapa awe,
...| +S |
his father,
- 807 S*: apaapa awe ale,
...| +S:h | m | d |
his father,
- 808 R+: ahumu awe,
...| +S: h | m |
his clan-leader,
- 809 S!: mwaathu eh!
<X>
exactly, that is right.
- 810 R!: Aan.
<X>
Yes.
- 811 S...: Anawaacale yaala atthu ala ala,
||:tmp: P/e=clt | S:d | h | d | d | ||
When these people came together,
- 812 R!: Ahin.
<X>
Yes.
- 813 S...: Eneeriya: paahi va,
...||:Qt+indf: P/e=ps| Q:f:?: A | A |
They were asked: now then,
- 814 R!: Aan.
<X>
Yes.
- 815 S...: mnocuwela cayi, alhammti eseene epakale aya va?
...| P | A ||: nom+?: S: [[r: S | < *S > | S | L || | ||
how do you know, what Mr. Mhammati has done?
- 816 R!: Aan.
<X>
Yes.
- 817 S...: Eneeriya: alhammati va mcurukhu,
||:Qt+indf: P/e=ps | Q:f:mnr: S | L | O ||
They replied: Mhammati, [you should see] his money!
- 818 R!: Aan.
<X>
Yes.
- 819 S...: Sertu mcurukhu aholya ala ve ve, anaarunaka va.
||:ldp: A | +O | P | S | ldp ||:ccv: P | A ||
True, he has used up the money completely, even if he is denying it now.
- 820 R*: Ala anaaruna pazhi,
||:ccv: S | P | A ||
He is only denying.

- 821 S*: Anaarunaka ahokusa.
 ||:ccv: P ||: P ||
 However he denies it he took it.
- 822 R~: Aholya ala.
 ||:: P | S | ||
 He spent it.
- 823 S...: Nyu ataata awe mtthu cicammo?
 ||:mnr:Q:l'nom: V: h | a: [h | m | r | *S | ||
 And you, his uncle, is it so?
- 824 R!: Aan.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 825 S...: Wiirliya: va va.
 ||:Qt+pv: P/e=ps | Q:l': nom: *S | ||
 He said: just so.
- 826 R!: Aayo.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 827 S...: Ahokusa.
 | -P ||
 He took it.
- 828 R!: Aan.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 829 S...: Wiirliya: paahi,
 ||:Qt+pv: P/e=ps | Q:l':nom+?: A |
 They said: all right, then,
- 830 R!: Ehin.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 831 S...: Pwaneera enyu cayl vamphavela enyu
 | S: cpl | h: [[r/at=loc: P | S]] | *S: h | m: [[r/ac=loc: P | S
 ni mtthu enyu ola?
 | A: pp | h | m | d]] ||
 What do you say, then, that you want [us to do] with your relative?
- 832 S...: Wiirliya: latarawu hin khannomphavela.
 ||:Qt+pv: P/e=ps | Q:l': O | S | P+O ||
 They said: he is a bandit, we do not want him.
- 833 R*: Hin khannomphavela.
 | -S | -P ||
 We do not want him.
- 834 S...: Enviye.
 ||:: P/e=ps ||
 He should be killed.
- 835 R~: Munlokoni mu latarawu khannomttthuna.
 ||:: L: h | d | O | P+O ||
 In this clan [of ours] we do not want a bandit.
- 836 S*: Mhm, enviye.
 ||:: <U> | P/e=ps ||
 Yes; he should be killed.
- 837 R!: Aan.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 838 S...: Oopeliye kymoonaka va.
 ||:: P/e=dr+ps | A: [[tmp: P+O | A]] ||
 He should be shot before my eyes right now.
- 839 R!: Aayo.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 840 S...: Wiirliya: omoopela?
 ||:Qt+pv: P/e=ps | Q:l':pv+?: P/e=dr/+O | ||
 They said: shoot him?

- 841 S...: Wiirliya: aan.
 ||:Qt+pv: P/e=ps | Q: [': <U>] ||
 They said: yes.
- 842 R!: Aan.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 843 S...: Wiirliya: pronto, okhala wiira ahohimya
 ||:Qt+csi+pv: P/e=ps | Q: [':mnr: A ||:csi: cj | P
 asimucil. awe,
 | S: h | m ||
 He said: all right, since it was his fellow-clansmen who accused him,
- 844 R!: Aayo.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 845 S...: paahl, omoopela akimmoopela.
 ...||: A | P/ ncl | +ncl/e=dr/+0 ||
 in that case, as for shooting him, I am not going to shoot him.
- 846 R!: Aayo.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 847 S...: So nna va,
 ||: [': & | A |
 But now,
- 848 R!: Aan.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 849 S...: akalapinteero,
 ...| S |
 a carpenter
- 850 R!: Aan.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 851 S...: epheeliye.
 ...| P/e=ps | ||
 let one be sought.
- 852 R!: Aan.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 853 S...: Pampheeliya akalapinteero.
 ||:stv: P/e=ps | S ||
 And then, a carpenter was found.
- 854 R!: Ahin.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 855 S...: Wiirliya: mwaalike okhuma vathi mpaka mculu
 ||: Qt+pv: P/e=ps | Q: [': [': P+0 | A: [': i: P | L] | A: pp | h
 aneemelale.
 | A: [': tmp: P || | ||
 He said: measure him from the bottom to the top while he is standing up.
- 856 R!: Aan.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 857 S...: Pwanlikiya aya okhuma vathi mpaka mculu.
 ||:stv: P/e=ps | S | A: [': P | L] | A: pp | h ||
 And he was measured from the bottom to the top.
- 858 R+: veemelale emeturu aya.
 ...| +A: [':r/ac=loc: P | S:h | d ||
 what was his height.

- 859 S': veemelale aya, mwaatthu eh!
 | -A | <U> |||
 what was. . . , exactly.
- 860 R!: Aan.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 861 S...: Wiiriya: yaluttiye ekasoti,
 |||:Qt+pv: P/e=ps | Q:l':! : P/e=ps | s |||
 He said: let a box be made.
- 862 R!: Aan.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 863 S...: Epakhiriye elelo ala.
 ...||:ppv: P/e=ps | A | S |||
 Let him be carried up today.
- 864 S...: Eperekariye elelo ala.
 ...||:ppv: P/e=ps | A | S |||
 Let him be nailed up today.
- 865 R!: Aan.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 866 S...: Elikane.
 ...||:ppv: P | J |||
 He must be ready.
- 867 R!: Aan.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 868 S...: Wiiriya: va va.
 |||:Qt+pv: P/e=ps | Q:l':nom: *S | I |||
 They said: all right.
- 869 R!: Ehin.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 870 S...: Pwanluttiya ekasoti ele.
 |||:stv: P/e=ps | S:h | d |||
 And the box was made.
- 871 S...: Masi ocaaliya wootene nwe,
 ...||:nom: & | A: || | : P/e=ps || | m | d |
 But by his great fortune,
- 872 R!: Aayo.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 873 S...: ekasoti ele pi yatteekha.
 ...| S:h | d | *S: cpl | h |||
 the box, it was of "tteekha" wood.
- 874 R!: Ahin.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 875 S...: eluttiye ele nwe.
 ...| *S:llr: P | S | L |||
 that that was made there,
- 876 R': yo tteekha.
 | -*S |||
 of "tteekha" wood.
- 877 R?: yo tteekha?
 | -*S |||
 of "tteekha" wood?
- 878 S': yo tteekha.
 | -*S |||
 of "tteekha" wood.

- 879 R+: AMhammatl anookhoola vale?
 ||:?: S | P | A ||
 Mr Mhammatl was as good as departed.
- 880 S*: Ahokhoola.
 ||: P ||
 He was departed.
- 881 R!: Aan.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 882 S...: Pwaluttaciye aya khuwiihiyaka.
 ||:stv: P/e=clt+ps | S ||:ctv: P/e=cs+ps ||
 And they made it and brought it.
- 883 R!: Aan.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 884 S...: Wiirliya: mkele mu mrupaathi.
 ||:Qt+pv: P/e=ps | Q: l':! P | L || !: P | ||
 He said: get in here and lie down.
- 885 R!: Ehin.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 886 S...: Howarhiaciya ekuwo cawe, horupaathi.
 ||: P/e=clt+ps | O:h | m ||: P ||
 He was dressed in his [funeral] clothes and lay down.
- 887 R!: Ehin.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 888 S...: Narupaathale mommwe mmwe,
 ||:tmp: P | L ||
 Having lain down in there,
- 889 R!: Aan.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 890 S...: neera pwiliraka: paahi va min kiho... pi okhwa
 ||:Qt: P | +P/ec | Q:l': nom: A | S | T | <X>... | *S: cpl | l' i: P |
 waka va.
 | | m | A ||
 he said: now, then, as for me, I am. . . this is my death.
- 891 R*: Va kookhwa va.
 ||: A | P | A | ||
 I am already dead. I am already dead.
- 892 S...: Mkunya ole hokumiha ephaawu tthaaru,
 ||: S:h | d | P/e=cs | O:h | m ||
 The boss took out three loaves of bread
- 893 R!: Aan.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 894 S...: honrihela mommo mmwe warupaathale awe mommo mmwe.
 ...||: P/e=dr/+O | L: d | d | +L:l'r: P | S || | +L ||
 and threw to him there where he was lying down.
- 895 R?: Mommo mmwe?
 | -L ||
 In there?
- 896 S!: Aayo, tthaaru.
 <X> | -m ||
 Yes, three.
- 897 R!: Aayo.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 898 S...: Vano yena nakumihale yenye tthaaru nye neera pwiliraka:
 ||:tmp: & | S | P/e=cs | O: h | m | d ||:Qt: P | +P/ec
 paahi oroweke,

| Q: f':: A | P ||
 Then, when he [the boss] took those three loaves he said: now then you
 may go.

899 R!: Aan.

<X>

Yes.

900 S...: Min kahi ekontha caka.

...|| nom: T | *S: pp | h | m | ||
 As for me, it is not my responsibility.

901 R!: Ehin.

<X>

Yes.

902 S...: We, cunfeeru okaaro ole,

||: <V>... mn: S: h | m: [g] | d |
 You, driver, (the car driver, that is,

903 R!: Aan.

<X>

Yes.

904 S<: ntoko ela ekaaro erowale ela,

| +m: pp | d | h | m: [r: P] | d >
 like this vehicle that has gone),

905 R: Aayo.

<X>

Yes.

906 S>: Wilriya: epakhiriye ala,

||: Qt+pv: P/e=ps | Q: f':: P/e=ps | S ||
 He said: take him away.

907 R*: epakhiriye.

| -P ||

take him away.

908 S*: Epakhiriye,

| -P ||

Take him away.

909 R!: Aan.

<X>

Yes.

910 S...: Mwaarowehe opahari.

...|| !: P/e=cs/+0 | L ||
 Take him to the sea.

911 R*: Opahari.

| -L ||

To the sea.

912 S...: Vano mwaphiya opahari,

||: tmp: & | P | L ||
 Then, once you have got to the sea,

913 R!: Aan.

<X>

Yes.

914 S...: mwapheeke ekalawa,

...|| !: P | 0 ||
 look for a boat,

915 R!: Aan.

<X>

Yes.

916 S...: eheliye mkalawani ekasoti ela ela,

...||: !: P/e=ps | L | S: h | d | d ||
 put this box in the boat.

917 R!: Aan.

<X>

Yes.

- 918 S...: Yarowe ekasoti ele mmaacini yarowe, yarowe, yarowe, vano
 ...||: P | S:h | d | L | =P | =P | =P || !:
 eriyariru maaci ayo,
 & | A: h | a: [h | d] |
 So that the box [the boat] goes through the water, and goes, and goes and
 goes, then, right in the middle of the water,
- 919 R!: Aan.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 920 S...: yakumihiye ekasoti ela ettikheiiye,
 ...| P/e=cs/+ps | S:h | d || !: P/e=dr+ps |
 take out the box and throw it into the water.
- 921 R!: Ahin.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 922 S...: Mpahari mmo.
 ...| L:h | d ||
 Into the sea.
- 923 R!: Aayo.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 924 S...: Ahaavo oolokiha mmo mmaacini mmo.
 ||:cpl: P | S:[gi:P/e=cs] | L:d | h | d | ||
 There will be someone to take care of him in the water.
- 925 R!: Ehin.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 926 S...: Wiriya: pacivale.
 ||:Qt+pv: P/e=ps | Q:l:nom: +S:cpl | h:[r/at=loc: P] ||
 They said: it is all right.
- 927 R!: Aayo.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 928 S...: Mhm, khaapicala.
 ||: <U> | P | ||
 Oh, it will not take long.
- 929 R!: Ehin.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 930 S...: Pwakuhiye aya tthe woowu,
 ||:stv+ldp: P/e=ps | S | ldp | L |
 He then, was picked up easily [and taken] up to there.
- 931 R!: Aan.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 932 S...: olu... woowu wu <: vayl nwo mkiromoliheke paapa,
 ...| <U> | L | ||:nom: +S | S || !: P/e=cs+0 | V | >
 opahari.
 +L ||
 at Luuli... at, where is it? , help me to name it, father ... at the sea
- 933 R: Opahari, ophareya.
 | -L | +L ||
 At the sea, at the beach [ophareya - Port. = Praia]
- 934 S: Mhm, aan.
 <X> | <X> ||
 Yes, exactly.
- 935 R: Ophareya.
 | -L ||
 At the beach.
- 936 S: Aayo, mm, ha ah.
 <X> | <U> ||
 Exactly, yes, ha ha.

- 937 R: Nyu opahari cayl, ophareya.
 ||:mnr: <V> | Q: ['mnr: L] | A || mnr:Q: [' L] ||
 You, why (do you say) "opahari" [sea], [say] "ophareya" [the beach].
- 938 S: Ophareya.
 ...L ||
 The beach (sea).
- 939 R: Asinamwane anyariya naanino ala va mnokowaasiyananiha.
 ||: S:h | ||r: P | A || d | A | P/e=rcp+cs/+0 ||
 The children who are born nowadays, you are going to confuse them.
- 940 S: Ophareya?
 ||:mnr: Q: ['?: L] ||
 The beach(sea)?
- 941 R: Aayo ophareya.
 <X> | -L ||
 Yes, the beach.
- 942 S: Ophareya.
 | -L ||
 The beach.
- 943 R: Ehln.
 <X>
 Exactly.
- 944 S: woowu wu ophareya nwo.
 ...| +L: d | d | h | d ||
 up to there, to the beach.
- 945 R: Aayo.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 946 S: Atthu ayo nnootepe opacera khalayi wuulumaca nno.
 ||: <X> | P | O: [i: P | A | O: [i: P] | d] ||
 You see, it was too long ago we started to talk.
- 947 R: Ni va wuulumaca nwo wootene nwo muupuseraneke.
 ||: !: & | A | O+T: [i: P] | d | m | d | P/e=apl+rcp/+0 ||
 Indeed, in the art of speech you have to remind to each other.
- 948 S>: Vano,
 ||:tmp : & |
 Then,
- 949 R!: Aayo.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 950 S...: Aan.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 951 S...: Vano va vale vale ewoora erowehiye aya nwe,
 ...| +& | A:d | d | h | m: ||r/ac=tmp: P/e=ps | S | L ||
 Then, at that moment, the time that he was taken there,
- 952 R!: Aayo.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 953 S...: ahokolyaaka cunfeeru awaaka ahimya wiira: mhm, ale
 ...||:ctv: P | S ||:ctv: P ||:ctv+Ot: P | Q: i | [' : <U> | O
 nihaattikhela ahorowa.
 | P/e=dr/+0 ||: P } ||
 and the driver returned and came and said: oh, him, we have thrown in and
 he has gone.
- 954 R!: Aayo.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 955 S...: Aan, cicammo pwareerale.
 ...|| mnr: Q: ['nom: <U> | S | *S:cpl | h: ||r/ac=loc: P || . ||
 Yes, that is all right.

956 R!: Ehn.

<X>

Yes.

957 S...: Khilvo tho etthu yooreera oweha.

||:cpl: P | enc | S:h | m: || gi: P/aux | ncl) ||

There is nothing else to worry about.

958 R!: Een.

<X>

Yes.

959 S...: Aan.

<X>

Yes.

960 R!: Aan.

<X>

Yes.

- 961 S...: Masl ni ayo ayo alopwana ayo khweeli! va khaanthama
 ||:mnr+excl: & | & | d | d | h | d | A ||: L | P
 tho va.
 | enc | L ||
 But, those people really, thou will never stay away [after a teacher has
 attempted to shoo them away]
- 962 S...: Vano vaavale vale ewoora ekusiye aya ele ele,
 ||:tmp: & | A: d | d | +A:h | ||r: P/e=ps | S || | d | d ||
 Then, at that moment, the time when he was taken off
- 963 R!: Aan.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 964 S...: yeele... yoole arowaka ni mmaacini mmwe vale
 | +A: d... || ctv: S | P ||:cpl+cs! : & | L:h | d | A
 kahlwira okhala tteekha,
 | P/aux | ncl | SC ||
 that... when he went into the water, the box was not half made of "tteekha"
 wood,
- 965 R!: Aan.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 966 S...: lphaa nye cihohiranaca nye hiranaco; maaci khaammuva
 ... || Idp: S:h | d | P/e=rcp+clt | +S | Idp ||: S | P ||
 nnakhala vakaani.
 :ccv+cpl: P | SC ||
 the holes sealed completely; the water does not seep throughout even a little
 drop.
- 967 R*: Khaammuva.
 | -P ||
 It does not seep through.
- 968 S...: Khaammuva, so emmakela ottikhiya paahi ekasoti ele, ottikhiya
 ||: P/e=clt ||: & | P/aux | ncl/e=ps | A | S:h | d | +P/ncl
 ekakheliyaka oota.
 | A: || tmp: P/e=dr+ps || | L ||
 It does not seep, the box just keeps bobbing around, bobbing and being washed
 towards the shore.
- 969 R!: Ehin.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 970 S...: Ekakheliyaka oota, ekakheliyaka oota, ekakheliyaka oota,
 | +A: || tmp: P/e=dr+ps | L | =A | =A ||
 Being washed towards the shore, being washed towards the shore, being washed
 towards the shore,
- 971 R!: Ehin.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 972 S...: Vano khirowale wira onesa onesa nwe
 ||: & | P | < Q: | > OP: || i: P | =P || | d |
 Then, it did not half go... it what you call it? what do you call it?
- 973 R+: Ophwaa... ophwaalela.
 ... | <U> | +OP: || i: P/apl || ||
 It was... It was washed ashore.
- 974 S!: Aan.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 975 R+: Okhumela
 | -OP ||
 It came out [of the water].
- 976 S...: Okhumelale aya.
 ... | L: ||r: P/e=dr | S || ||
 Where it came out,

- 977 R!: Aan.
<X>
Yes.
- 978 S...: ekhumelale wa mpatthanl aya ole.
...| P/e=dr | L: h | m | d |||
It came out at his friend's place.
- 979 R!: Aan.
<X>
Yes.
- 980 S...: Mhammatl yoole ole aamkumananale awe otoropanl ole.
...| +m:h | d | d | m: ||r: P/e=rcp | S | L || | d |||
That Mhammatl that he met during military service.
- 981 R!: Aayo, aayo.
<X> | <X>
Yes, yes.
- 982 S...: Oratta ene.
...| A:h | m |||
A perfect touch.
- 983 R!: Aan.
<X>
Yes.
- 984 S...: Ni athiyana ale ewoora ekhumelale aya wicisu
||:tmp: & | S:h. | d | A: h | m: ||r: P/e=dr | S || | A
yilraka: khuli kinaarowa keecaakhihe,
||:ctv+Qt: P | Q:l': <U> | P ||:ppv: P/e=cs | |||
Meanwhile, when the woman went out in the morning and said: oh I am going to relieve myself,
- 985 R!: Ahin.
<X>
Yes.
- 986 S...: amphwanya ekasotl ele amwaara a Mhammatl ale ale.
-||: P | O:h | d | S:h | m: | g: pp | h | | d | d |||
she found the box the [other] Mhammatl's wife.
- 987 R!: Aan.
<X>
Yes.
- 988 S...: ekasotl?
| -O |||
Box?
- 989 R!: Aan.
<X>
Yes.
- 990 S...: Anoorukurerya wonno,
||: P | L |||
She immediately went round [the house],
- 991 R?: oomampa-khoma?
...|S/m: |g: pp|h| |||
[Was she the one] from Mampa-khoma?
- 992 S!: Nyenyu.
<X>
Exactly.
- 993 R!: Aan.
<X>
Yes.
- 994 S...: aneera pwilraka: nyenyu nyu, ekasotl nwe bpirothl nwe.
...||:ctv+Qt: P | +P/ec | Q:l':mnr: <V> | S | L: d | h | | d | |||
and said: you there, [there is] a box over there, behind [the house].
- 995 R!: Mhu.
<X>
Yes.

- 996 S...: Vawinye vale wiirliya: mhm ekasotl,
 ||:tmp: A: [r/ac=loc: P/e=ps] | d || Qt+pv: P/e=ps | Q: [r excl: <U> | T |
 mhm, etthu ela evuluwaie mpaketl ela.
 <U> ||: S:h | d | P | L | +S ||
 When they arrived, they said: oh this thing has fallen from a ship.
- 997 R!: Aan.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 998 S...: Ola mhakhu ola.
 ||:nom: S | *S | +S ||
 This is wealth.
- 999 R*: Mhakhu ola.
 | -*S | -S ||
 This is wealth.
- 1000 S...: Enoowuluwa mpaketl ela.
 ||:: P | L | S ||
 It fell from a ship.
- 1001 R!: Aayo.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 1002 S...: Va pi ottotta nno.
 ||:: A | *S:cpl | h: || i: P || | d ||
 Now, this is [what they call] a lucky find.
- 1003 R!: EhIn.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 1004 S...: Mmare nwo, mkivarihe.
 ||:: P | L || !: P/e=cs/+0 | ||
 Hold it there, help me to hold.
- 1005 R!: Aan.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 1006 S...: Pwanthatihaniya aya khurowehiyaka mpaani.
 ||:stv: P/e=cs+rcp+ps | S ||:ctv: P/e=cs+ps | L ||
 And then, they shouldered it and carried into the house.
- 1007 R!: AhIn.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 1008 S...: Wiirliya: nipapharule nootokole etthu ene eseenl.
 ||:Qt+pv: P/e=ps | Q: [r:: P ||:ppv: P | O: || nom: S: h | m | *S || | ||
 They said: let us open it and see what it is.
- 1009 R!: Aan.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 1010 S...: Nipapharule.
 | -P ||
 Let us open it.
- 1011 R!: EhIn.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 1012 S<: NI ocaaliya wooteene empapharuliya omrunl.
 ||:: & | A: h: || i: P/e=ps || | m | P/e=ps | L ||
 By great good luck it was opened at the head [end].
- 1013 R!: Aan.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 1014 S: Maana apapharuliye omettonl, aanaatuphelihliya tho.
 ||:csi+ctg: cnj | P/e=ps | L ||: P/e=dr+cs+ps | enc ||
 As if he had had it opened at the leg [end], he would have been thrown
 back in [the water].

1015 R: Aanaatuphelehiya.

| -P |||

He would have been thrown back in.

1016 S: Oh, hooniye ekhove,

||:csl+ctg: <U> | P/e=ps | OR ||

If he had not had his face seen.

1017 R: Een.

<X>

Yes.

1018 S: Mhm.

<X>

Yes.

1019 R: Yaakowilriya: etthu ela.

||:Qt: P/e=ps | Q:Γ:nom: *S: h | d | |||

They would have said: this is something [strange].

1020 S>: Vano pwampapharuliya omruni nno papharu, pwaneerliya:

||:stv+ldp: & | P/e=ps | L: h | d | Idp ||:Qt: P/e=ps

mhm, nyu kahl mtthu ola?

| Q:Γ:nom+? : <U> | <V> | *S: pp | h | d | |||

Then, it is when they open it at the head end and that is when they said:
this no person, is it?

1021 R!: Aan.

<X>

Yes.

1022 S...: Akhumale aathiyana khwilaraka: amweetti aka nkayil!

||:psclft: P | S+F ||:ctv+pv: P | Q: Γ: mnr+excl: S | A | |||

It is the wife who came out and said: oh it is my darling, can it be true?

1023 S...: Amweetti enyu cayil?

||:mnr: Q: Γ: mnr+?: S: h | m | A | |||

What, your darling? [friend].

1024 R~: AmweMhammati ala.

_| +S: h | d | |||

It is Mr. Mhammati.

1025 S...: Nriya amweetti aka ala?

||:Qt+indf: P/e=ps | Q:Γ:nom+?: *S:h | m | d |

She said "Is it my really my friend?"

1026 S...: Pwakumihiye aya mmwe, orowehliya nwe. aathiyana ale...

||:stv: P/e=cs+ps | S | L ||: pv: P/e=cs+ps | L ||: S: h | d | |...

kuuhlmeeryeni athiyana owaatthuni,

:Qt: P/e=apl/+0 | Q:Γ: mnr+excl: I: h | m: [g] |

Then, he was taken out [of the box], and taken to [the house]. The woman,
I tell you, women of other peoples' [place]

1027 R!: Aan.

<X>

Yes.

1028 S<: elapo yooyevacilya enyaa,

_| +T/m: [h | m: [g: P/e=clt+ps | OR ||]] > |||

the land [where the women have] small feet.

1029 R: Yil.

<X>

Exact.

1030 S>: Pwakusiye aya woowu wu, pwarapihaciye aya piya.

||:stv: P/e=ps | S | L ||:stv: P/e=cs+clt+ps | S | A |||

She took him to there, she washed him completely.

1031 R!: Aan.

<X>

Yes.

1032 S...: Owarihaciya cikina ca apatthani aya nwe.

||:pv: P/e=cs+clt+ps | O:h | m: [g: pp | h | m | l] |||

She got him dressed in his friend's spare [clothes] there.

1033 R!: Aan.

<X>

Yes.

- 1034 S...: Vanoolumaca aka va va,
 |||:: A: ||r/ac=loc: P | S || | d | d |
 As quick as it takes me to say it,
- 1035 R!: Aan.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 1036 S...: nwe mcoro waapenyaka, ottokotthaka, maana alye yoola ola.
 ...| L | S | P/e=ps ||: P || ppv: cnj | P | S: d | d ||
 there the rice was being cooked and was boiling, so that he can eat.
- 1037 R!: Aayo.
 X>
 Yes.
- 1038 S...: Vano yoole ole pwammwilihiya awe pwokomaka vale.
 |||:stv: & | S: d | d | P/e=cs+ps | S ||:ctv: P | L ||
 Then, he was brought and sat down there.
- 1039 R!: Aan.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 1040 S...: Nookomale vale,
 |||:tmp: P | L ||
 Having sit down there,
- 1041 R!: Ehln.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 1042 S...: eneeriya: mlopwana onkhuma vayi?
 ..||:Qt+Indf: P/e=ps | Q: f':? V | P | A | ||
 [his friend said] where have you come from, my friend?
- 1043 R!: Aan.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 1044 S...: Okohiya ole.
 |||: pv: P/e=ps | S ||
 He was asked.
- 1045 R!: Aan.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 1046 S...: Onkhuma vayi mlopwana?
 |||: P | A | V | ||
 Where have you come from, my friend?
- 1047 R!: Aan.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 1048 S...: Neera pwiliraka yenani: mlopwana,
 |||:stv+Qt: P | +P/ec | S | Q: f': V |
 The [man from Erati] said: my friend,
- 1049 R!: Aayo.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 1050 S...: 'antes' kilnawaakhula etthu cinci ene,
 ...|A: || tmp: cnj | P+O | 02:h | m | sm || |
 before I answer many things,
- 1051 R!: Aayo.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 1052 S...: Khweeli, mlopwana,
 ...| A | <V> |
 really, my friend,
- 1053 R*: Mlopwana.
 ...| <V> |
 My friend.

- 1054 S...: koocuwela wira omuci khunipaniya,
 ... P | Q: I | | P: S | P/e=rcp+ps ||
 [now] I know that within the family there should be no contention.
- 1055 R!: Aayo.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 1056 S...: opatthani khunwaniya.
 ... ||: S | P/e=ps | | ||
 [in] friendship [people] must never quarrel.
- 1057 R!: Aayo.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 1058 S...: Neera: wirale cayi?
 ||: stv+Qt: P | Q: P: ? P | A | ||
 He said: what did you say?
- 1059 R!: Aan.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 1060 S...: Wira: kineera wira omuci khunipaniya, opatthani
 ||: stv+Qt+pv: P | Q: P: P | Q: I | P: S | P/e=rcp+ps ||: -S
 khunwaniya.
 | -P | | ||
 He replied: I am saying that clan-membership need not be fought for, [in]
 friendship [people] must never quarrel.
- 1061 R!: Aan.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 1062 S...: Cani?
 ||: mnr: Q: P: mnr?: A | ||
 What?
- 1063 R!: Aan.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 1064 S...: Wirliya: mlopwana, kinamalihale mtoropani ottuli
 ||: Qt+pv: P/e=ps | Q: P: tmp: <V> | P/e=cs | L | +L:
 nwe vale
 h | d | A ||
 He said: my friend, when I finished my military service, after you left
- 1065 R!: Ahin.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 1066 S...: Kaahokhoolela wira: kirowe wa mpatthani aka masi kihēehaniya
 ... ||: P/e=dr | Q: I | P: P | L: h | m ||: & | P/e=ps |
 olooca.
 | L ||
 I started thinking I should go to my friend's, but I was called to a shop.
- 1067 R!: Aan.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 1068 S...: Kineehaniye, kihanca othumiha mlooca mmwe.
 ||: tmp: P/e=ps ||: P | Q: ||: P/e=cs | L: h | d || ||
 When I was called to the shop I started selling [things] in the shop.
- 1069 R!: Ehin.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 1070 S...: Ni owannya aka kiphwanyale etala.
 ||: & | L: h | m | P | O ||
 And at my area I found a famine.
- 1071 R!: Ehin.
 <X>
 Yes.

- 1072 S...: masi amuci aka ooteene, annamaama,
 ||:pv: cnj | 0:h | m | m | +0 |
 but all my family, my female relatives,
- 1073 R!: Aan.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 1074 S...: Waanyala.
 ...| P+0 | ||
 I offended them.
- 1075 R': waanyala.
 | -P | ||
 [I] offended them.
- 1076 S...: Kanaavaha palisi khayaakupali.
 ||:ccv: P+0 | 02 ||: P ||
 Even if I gave them maize-flour, they did not believe [that that was all
 I could do]
- 1077 R~: Khayaamwamini.
 | -P+0 | ||
 They did not believe in it.
- 1078 S...: Waanyala min waanyala.
 | -P+0 | S | -P | ||
 I was offending them.
- 1079 R!: Ehin.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 1080 R~: Puhelale aya ephepa aya "phwe".
 ||:stv+ldp: P | S | 0:h | m | Idp ||
 Then, they bewitched me with a prayer for bad luck.
- 1081 S...: Mhm, vano ahonhimeerya mkunya aarina aka ole lira: mhm,
 ||:Qt: <U> | & | P/e=api+0 | 0:h | ||r: P | S || | d | Q:l |': <U>
 mhm, mcurukhu wooteene holovola.
 | <U> | 0:h | m | | P | ||
 Yes; and they told the boss I was working with: Indeed, he took away all
 the money.
- 1082 S...: Kootthukiya.
 ||:: P/e=ps ||
 I got arrested.
- 1083 R!: Ehin.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 1084 S...: Kinatthukiye, kooheliya mpaketini mmwe.
 ||:tmp: P/e=ps ||: P/e=ps | L:h | d ||
 When I was arrested I was put in a ship.
- 1085 S...: Ti nna nnophiya aka nna nnokoona aa nna.
 ||:nom: *S: cpl | d+h | m: ||r: P | S || | +d+h | ||r || | d | ||
 That is [why] I am arriving here, that is [why] you see me now.
- 1086 R!: Aayo.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 1087 S...: Khu, mnaahimya?
 ||:mnr: Q: l':?+exci: <X> | P | ||
 Do you really mean it?
- 1088 S...: Wiirliya: mhm...
 ||:Qt+pv: P/e=ps | Q:l': <U> | ||
 He said: Yes, [I true].
- 1089 R~: Yeerliye: mphareya mmo yakhwe.
 ||:Qt+indf: P/e=ps | Q: l': L:h | d | P | ||
 It was planned: let him die in the sea.
- 1090 S! : Mhm, mwaahokhala.
 ||:: <U> | P ||
 Exactly.

- 1091 R!: Pwarowale aka otupheleliya.
 |||:ppv+stv: P | S | OP:[I: P/e=dr+cs+ps] |||
 That is why I went to be thrown over board.
- 1092 S...: Vano nna kinawaale va, okitaratariki co.,
 |||: & | A:d | [tmp: P | L] | P+0 | A |||
 Now that I have come here, I please I treat me fittingly.
- 1093 R!: Aan.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 1094 S...: Pwaneera aka wilra: sertu omuci khunlpaniya, opatthani
 |||:stv+Qt: P | S | Q:I | I: A | -S | -P || -S
 khunlwaniya.
 | -P |] |||
 That is what I mean: without a doubt within the family there should be no
 contention, within a friendship [people] must never quarrel.
- 1095 R!: Aayo.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 1096 S...: Eneerliya: va va.
 |||:Qt+Indf: P/e=ps | Q: I:nom: *S |||
 He said: It is true.
- 1097 R!: Aan.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 1098 S...: Paahi,
 |||: A |
 Now,
- 1099 R!: EhIn.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 1100 S...: we okhaleke va va.
 -| V+S | P | L |||
 you may stay here.
- 1101 R!: Aan.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 1102 S...: Nookomaceke va va.
 |||: P/e=clt | L] |||
 We can live together here.
- 1103 R!: EhIn.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 1104 S...: Ohookomaciya mahuku meeli, mararu wilriya: okipheelele
 |||: P/e=clt+ps | A:h | m | m ||:Qt+pv: P/e=ps | Q: I: P/e=apl/
 athiyana mlopwana.
 +0 | 02 | V |||
 After they had lived together for a while (lit. 2 or 3 days), [the visitor]
 said: please, find a woman for me, my friend.
- 1105 R!: Aayo.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 1106 S...: Vahophiya mankhamo anthela aka.
 |||:loc: P | S: h | [r: P | S]] |||
 The time has come for me to marry.
- 1107 R!: Aan.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 1108 S...: Pwaneerliya: athiyana kinamuuphavelela.
 |||:stv+Indf: P/e=ps | Q: I: 02 | P/e=apl+0 | |||
 He then said: as for a woman, I will look one for you.
- 1109 R!: Aan.
 <X>
 Yes.

- 1110 S...: NI vale okhala wira vale ehaavo tho etthoko yaari co,
 ||:cpl: & | A | P/aux | Q:l | <A> | P/ncl | enc | S ||:cpl: P | L
 okhopeleele nwe
 | +L: h | d ||
 But there was no village except on the other side of the river,
- 1111 S...: Waalapuwliya mwaanro co,
 ||: P/e=ps | S | A ||
 It was necessary to cross over a stream.
- 1112 R!: Aan.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 1113 S...: phulapuweliyaka okhopeleele nwe.
 ...:ctv: P/e=dr+ps | L: h | d ||
 and cross to other side there.
- 1114 R!: Aayo.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 1115 S...: Haavo mwaanthiyana mmoca wu neehaniya Maria Nrimu.
 ||:cpl: P | S:h | m | L | +S/m: ||r: P/e=ps | SC || ||
 There was one girl there called Maria Nrimu.
- 1116 R?: Maria Nrimu?
 | SC ||
 Maria Nrimu.
- 1117 S*: Maria Nrimu.
 | -SC ||
 Maria Nrimu.
- 1118 S...: Maria Nrimu oreera,
 ||: S | 0 |
 Maria Nrimu was very pretty.
- 1119 R!: Aan.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 1120 S...: Noottheela.
 -| P ||
 She was in a class by herself. (ie she put a stop to competition)
- 1121 R!: Aan.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 1122 S...: Okhopeleele nwo nwo.
 ...| L: h | d | d ||
 On the other bank [of the river]
- 1123 R!: Aayo.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 1124 S...: Ohonowarwenya wu ona... woowu wu.
 ||: P/e=ps | S | <U> | +S ||
 They went there er. . . there.
- 1125 R!: Mhu.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 1126 S...: Oheettakaciya wuu, oneerliya: mwaanthiyana owo ti ola ola.
 ||: P/e=clt+ps | S ||:Qt: P/e=ps | Q:l'nom: S:h | d | *S: cpl | d | d | ||
 They had a long walk and he said: this is the girl.
- 1127 R!: Mhm.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 1128 S...: Wiriya: mm okicivela.
 ||:Qt+pv: P/e=ps | Q: l'pv: <U> | P/e=apl/+0 ||
 He said: [I] like [her].
- 1129 S...: NI... nuulume.
 ||:!: <U> | P | ||
 We must talk.

- 1130 R!: Aan.
<X>
Yes.
- 1131 S...: Eneerlya: we, we, othelanaca.
||:Qt+indf: P/e=ps | Q: l':pv: <V> | +<V> | P/e=rcp+clt | ||
He said: you, you [must] get married.
- 1132 R!: Aayo.
<X>
Yes.
- 1133 S...: Eneerlya: mm othelanaca, erutthu enyu ela?
||:Qt+indf: P/e=ps | Q: l':pv+?: <U> | P | S: h | m | d | ||
She said: oh to get married to you in person?
- 1134 S...: Wiirlya: mwaapara aka ola.
||:Qt+pv: P/e=ps | Q: l': S: h | m | d | ||
He said: to my friend here.
- 1135 R!: Aayo.
<X>
Yes.
- 1136 S...: Wiirlya: pi yeeyo.
||:Qt+pv: P/e=ps | Q: l':nom: *S:cpl | d | ||
She said: that is all right.
- 1137 R!: Aayo.
<X>
Yes.
- 1138 S...: Mwaaleetto?
||:nom+?: *S | ||
Are you a stranger?
- 1139 R!: Ehln.
<X>
Yes.
- 1140 S...: Okoha wa athiyana ale ale.
||: :nom: *S:h | m:lg: pp | h | d | d | > ||
That was the woman's question.
- 1141 R!: Ahln.
<X>
Yes.
- 1142 S...: Pwlliraka yenani: kinootthuna.
||:ctv+Qt: P | S | Q:l': P | ||
And he said: [It is because] I want to.
- 1143 R': Kinootthuna.
| -P ||
[It is because] I want to.
- 1144 S...: Ni aMaria Nrimu khayaatheliya.
||: : & | S | P/e=ps ||
Now Miss Maria Nrimu was unmarriedable.
- 1145 R+: Aayo, khayaatthuna otheliya.
||: : <X> | P | O: ||: P/e=ps || ||
Yes, she did not want to get married.
- 1146 S...: Otheliya elelo va,
||:pv: P/e=ps | A:h | d ||
She could get married today. . .
- 1147 R!: Aayo.
<X>
Yes.
- 1148 S<: Paapa nkiviriyane va.
... : V | P/e=ps/+0 | A >
Father, listen to me.
- 1149 R: Kinamwinwa.
||: : P ||
I am listening.

- 1150 S>: Otheliya elelo va,
 ||:pv: P/e=ps | A: h | d ||
 She could get married today,
- 1151 R!: Aayo.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 1152 S...: Mlophwana owo khaasentliya.
 ...||: S:h | d | P/e=apl+ps ||
 the man would not wake up the following day.
- 1153 R*: Khaasentliya.
 | -P ||
 Would not wake up?
- 1154 S...: Aayo, okhwa. Aanaakhwa elelo va. Khavaari erameeti.
 ||:pv: <X> | P ||: P | A: h | d ||:cpl+loc: P | S ||
 There was no remedy to avoid [death]
- 1155 R*: Otheliya elelo,
 ||: -P | -A ||
 [If she got] married today,
- 1156 S*: Elelo okhwa.
 ||: -A | -P ||
 He [would] die today.
- 1157 R*: Elelo va va okhwa.
 -||: -A | -P ||
 He [would] die that very day.
- 1158 S...: Mhm, paapa khaakhuma mpaani mmo.
 ||: <U> | <V> | P | L: h | d ||
 Exactly, father, he would never leave the house.
- 1159 R!: Ehn.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 1160 S...: Vano phwaakoha aya ayenani wira: mwaaleto?
 ||: stv: & | P+O | S | O | Q: | P:nom?: *S | ||
 That is why she was asking then whether he was a stranger.
- 1161 R!: Aayo.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 1162 S...: Khwira yenani: hata mena kinoolakela.
 ||:Qt+ctv: P | S | Q: P: A | P | ||
 And he said: [I am] not [a stranger] at all, I have simply made up my mind.
- 1163 R!: Aan.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 1164 S...: Wiriya: va va pwacivale.
 ||:Qt+pv: P/e=ps | Q: P:nom: S | *S:cpl; h: [r: P] ||
 She said: that is a pleasant [decision].
- 1165 R!: Ehin.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 1166 S...: Mwaaphwanyeke apaapa, mwaahimeeryeke.
 ||: P+O | O ||: P+O | ||
 Go and find my father and tell him.
- 1167 R!: Ehin.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 1168 S...: Phwanrowenya aya wa apaapa aya nwo, nkeia yahimeeriyaka
 ||:stv: P/e=ps | S | L: h | m | d ||:ctv: P/aux | ncl/e=apl+ps
 wira: hin nootthuna.
 | Q: | P: S | P | ||
 That is when they went to her father and told him (that): we want [to marry her].

1169 R!: Ehin.

<X>

Yes.

1170 S... Vano wiliya: ommwa yaakhanl?

||:Qt+pv: & | P/e=ps | Q: [':?': P | A] ||

Then he said: when are you coming? (lit. what year)

1171 S... Wiliya: kinaawa macuwa ootthekuwa ala akookomeke.

||:Qt+pv: P/e=ps | Q: [': P | A:h | m | d || ppv: P] ||

He said: I shall come and stay this afternoon [when the sun is declining]

1172 R!: Ehin.

<X>

Yes.

1173 S... Wiliya: va va pwacivale.

||:Qt+pv: P/e=ps | Q: [':nom: S | *S:cp! | h: [r: P]] ||

He said: It is all right.

1174 S... Ocecilo.

||:mnr: A ||

It was sunset [time passed].

1175 R!: Aayo.

<X>

Yes.

1176 S... Nawaale naaphwanya atthu: tapha.

||:tmp: P || Idp: P+O | O | Idp ||

When he came he found people in crowds.

1177 S... Owa omwiliheerya: omoona elelo va va ni

||:pv: P/aux | ncl/+O || pv: P+O | A: h | d | d || pv: &

omwiliheerya elelo va va.

| P+O | A: h | d | d ||

Who came to pay their last respects, at the same time to see him and to pay their last respects.

1178 R!: Aayo.

<X>

Yes.

1179 S... Maana ocuwelaka wira nwe onookhwenl.

||:csl+pv: cnj | P | Q: i | [':nom: S | *S] ||

As they knew that that was the place of death.

1180 R!: Aayo.

<X>

Yes.

1181 S... Vano va vale nookomale vale...

||:tmp: & | A: d | m: [r: P] | d | ...

Then, when he had taken up his residence. . .

1182 R!: Aan.

<X>

Yes.

1183 S... Ni apaapa aya ale ale ahoolumaca khwiraka: minyano

||: & | S: h | m | d | d | P ||:ctv+Qt+pv: P | Q: [': S

mwaamwana aka ola ola

| Q: h | m | d | d |

Meanwhile her father too spoke saying: I myself, this daughter of mine,

1184 S... mthu nkoomthela, mlopwana nkoomthela co,

... | S: h | m: [r: P+O] | +S: h | m: [r: P+O] | A ||

the person who is going to marry her, the man who is going actually to marry her,

1185 R!: Aayo.

<X>

Yes.

1186 S... khusenliya: khukumuu,

... || Idp+cvl+pv: P/e=apl+ps | Idp ||

and to awake alive and well,

1187 R!: Ehin.

<X>

Yes.

Yes

- 1188 S...: Kinasenliye khwira: taata.
...||:tmp: P/e=apl+ps ||:ctv+Qt+pv: P | Q: [': V] ||
When I awake next day said: son-in-law
- 1189 S...: Khwira: lapeka.
...||:Qt+ctv+pv: P | Q: [': FR] ||
andhe replied: Yes?
- 1190 R...: Waakhula: pronto.
| -P | Q: [': FR] || >
Replying: I am ready.
- 1191 S...: Mhm, elooca eyo yoohitto eyo pl yawawe.
...|| nom: <U> | S:h | d | m | d | *S:cpl | h ||
Indeed, the shop down [in the valley] is going to be his.
- 1192 R! : Ehln.
<X>
Yes.
- 1193 S...: Kinaammaha.
||: P+0 ||
I will give it him.
- 1194 R...: Kinaammaha min.
| -P+0 | S ||
I will give it to him, I will.
- 1195 S...: Ko... hokivelaveliha mwaana ola.
||: <U> | P/e=cs/+0 | S:h | d | ||
I...she has brought me to my wit's end, this daughter.
- 1196 R! : Aan.
<X>
Yes.
- 1197 S...: Wiriya: va va.
||:Qt+pv: P/e=ps | Q: [':nom: *S] ||
He said: so be it.
- 1198 R! : Aan.
<X>
Yes.
- 1199 S...: Onahokolenye ophinyaka owaani,
||:tmp: P/e=ps || ctv: P/e=ps | L ||
When [Mhammatl and his friend] returned and came back to the house [in Mampa-Khoma],
- 1200 R! : Ehln.
<X>
Yes
- 1201 S...: Mwaakenle vayl amweetti aka?
) ...|| mnr: Q: [':?: P | A | S:h | m] ||
[his hostess] said: where have you been my friend [darling]
- 1202 R! : Aan.
<X>
Yes.
- 1203 S...: Eneeriyaa: kaa... naakenle nwe,
||:Qt+Indf: P/e=ps | Q: [': <U> | P | L ||
He said: I... we went over there,
- 1204 R! : Aan.
<X>
Yes.
- 1205 S...: okhopeleele nwe nwe, haavo mwaanthiyana ri wonwo,
||:cpl: L: h | d | d | P | S:h | m: [r+cpl: P | L]
neehaniya Maria Nrimu,
| ||: P/e=ps | SC ||
on the other side of the river, there is a girl there, she is called Maria Nrimu.
- 1206 R! : Ehln.
<X>
Yes.

- 1207 S...: Yoowo owo ti aarowale aka omuurya.
 ||:nom: S:d | d | *S:cpl | h: ||r: P/aux | <S> | ncl/+0 || ||
 That is the one I went to seek in marriage.
- 1208 R...: Opheela omthela.
 ||:pv: P | O: || i: P+0 || || ||
 I want to marry her.
- 1209 S...: Aathiyana ala ala akolommwale wuunla ala, amweetti awe ala.
 ||: S: h | d | d | P | O: || i: P || | +S | +S: h | m | d || ||
 The woman [the hostess] started weeping, his darling.
- 1210 R!: Ahin.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 1211 S...: Akolommwale wuunla.
 | -P | -O || ||
 She started weeping.
- 1212 R+: Waacuwelaka wila pi asinviha atthu.
 ||:pv: P+0 | Q: I | ||:nom: *S:cpl | h || ||
 Because she knew that she was the death of the people.
- 1213 S...: Pi okhwa waya nwo aan.
 ||:nom: *S:cpl | h | m | d || || <X> || ||
 [because she knew that] that was his death.
- 1214 R!: Aan.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 1215 S...: Phunlale aya alee. Eneerlya: va apatthani enyu
 ||:stv: P | S | +S ||:Qt+indf: P/e=ps | Q: ||:?: A | O:h |
 ayo mwaahiyale yayi?
 m | d | P+0 | A || ||
 So she wept on and on. She then asked: what about your companion, where did you leave him?
- 1216 S...: Ni owo aanomweemela.
 ||: & | S | P || ||
 Now he had stopped [by the way].
- 1217 R!: Mhin.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 1218 S...: Arowe ru mtoropani mmwe, haavo mwaanlopwana mkhu awe
 ||:tmp: P | enc | L: h | d ||:cpl: P | S: h | m
 aarl awe hinamoona.
 | m: ||r: P/aux | <S> | ncl/+0 || ||
 Ever since he had gone to the army there had been a fellow country-man of his whom he had not met.
- 1219 S...: Homkumaanana.
 ||: P/e=rcp/+0 || ||
 He met him [on the road].
- 1220 S...: Anomweemela khwancaka woopa mwaha.
 ||: P ||:ctv: P | O: || i: P | O || ||
 They stopped and started chatting.
- 1221 R!: Aan.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 1222 S...: Ni ola nno ole mletto ole hophiya wa... nwe wa
 ||: & | S | | | +S: d | h | d | | P | L: <X> d |
 amweetti awe nwe.
 h | m | d || ||
 And the outsider arrived alone at his hostess's
- 1223 R!: Aan.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 1224 S...: Pwananca awe okohiya cammo.
 ||:stv: P | S | O: || i: P/e=ps | A || ||
 That is what started his being questioned like that,

- 1225 R!: Aan.
<X>
Yes.
- 1226 S...: Khwllraka ale: mm, nrliya cayl?
||:ctv+Qt+pv: P | S | Q: l'Qt+Indf+?: <U> | P | Q: l' mnr+?: A | | ||
And she said: what did you say?
- 1227 S...: Wllrliya: okhopeleele nwe.
||:Qt+pv: P/e=ps | Q: l' mnr: L:h | d | ||
He said: across the river there.
- 1228 R!: Aayo.
<X>
Yes.
- 1229 S...: Wllrliya: nrliya okhopeleele?
||:Qt+pv: P/e=ps | Q:l'Qt+Indf+?: P/e=ps | Q: l' mnr: L | | ||
She said: across the river?
- 1230 S...: Wllrliya: okhopeleele.
||:Qt+pv: P/e=ps | Q: l' mnr: L | | ||
He said: across the river.
- 1231 S...: Okhopeleele?
||:mnr: Q: l' mnr+?: L | | ||
She insisted: across the river?
- 1232 S...: Wllrliya: okhopeleele.
||:Qt+pv: P/e=ps | Q: l' mnr: L | | ||
He said: across the river.
- 1233 R!: Aan.
<X>
Yes.
- 1234 S...: Wllrliya: naata.
||:Qt+pv: P/e=ps | Q: l' mnr: A | | ||
She said: oh no!
- 1235 R!: Aan.
<X>
Yes.
- 1236 S...: Mwakllwa kllraka cammo,
||:ctg: P+0 | Q:l' tmp: P | A | ||
If you hear me talking like that...
- 1237 R!: Aan.
<X>
Yes.
- 1238 S...: Mhn, mhn, naata athlyana ayo... mmm, nrliya
||: <U> | <U> | A | T: h | d... | <U> ||:Qt+Indf: P/e=ps
cayl?
| Q: l' mnr+?: A | | ||
Oh, oh, oh no, that woman, oh, did you mean it?
- 1239 S...: Wllrliya: va va.
||:Qt+pv: P/e=ps | Q: l' nom: *S | | ||
He said: that is it.
- 1240 R+: Nriya, amweetti aka tthirli?
||:mnr:Q: l' Indf+?: P/e=ps | <V> | Q: l' mnr: A | | ||
Are you sure, friend?
- 1241 S!: Aan.
<X>
Yes.
- 1242 S...: Wllrliya: va amweetti aka,
||:Qt+pv: P/e=ps | Q: l' A | V: h | m |
She said: now, my friend,
- 1243 R!: Mhn.
<X>
Yes.
- 1244 S...: Kinamuuhimeeryani, mllpenle mllma enoohimeerya aka ni.
| P/e=apl/+0 || || !: P/e=apl | OR | Q:l'r: P/e=apl/+0 | <S> | +0 ||
I am telling you, take to heart what I am telling you,

- 1245 R!: Aayo.
<X>
Yes.
- 1246 S...: Mrowe olooca,
||:!: P | L ||
You should go to the shop,
- 1247 R!: Aayo.
<X>
Yes.
- 1248 S...: Olooca, mwanthume sikaro,
-|| ppv: L | P+O | O ||
to the shop, and buy cigarettes.
- 1249 R!: Aan.
<X>
Yes.
- 1250 S...: Epakoti tthaaru.
-| a: [h | m] |||
Three packets.
- 1251 R!: Aan.
<X>
Yes.
- 1252 S...: Mwathume elaamina... mwaalo,
||:!: P | O | +O |
buy a razor er. . . a knife,
- 1253 R!: Ehn.
<X>
Yes.
- 1254 S...: ekalavethi
-|+O |
a small knife,
- 1255 R!: Aayo.
<X>
Yes.
- 1256 S...: yoovikana elaamina.
- | m: || gi: P | O || |||
better than a razor.
- 1257 R!: Aayo.
<X>
Yes.
- 1258 S+ ...: Ovikana elaamina onari pu weetha.
:cpl: S: || i: P | O ||| P: cpl | || nom: cpl | h || |||
better than a razor in its sharpness.
- 1259 R+: Mweethela aya.
||:mnr: T: h | m ||| >
Its sharpness.
- 1260 S!: Mwaahokhala.
:: P ||| >
Exactly.
- 1261 S...: Mwathume yeela ela.
...|| ! ppv: P | O: d | d ||
Go and buy that.
- 1262 R!: Aan.
<X>
Yes.
- 1263 S...: NI esikeera ennyu,
...|| !: & | O: h | m |
And a cigarette-lighter,
- 1264 R!: Aan.
<X>
Yes.

- 1265 S...: mwathume.
 | P ||
 buy [them]
- 1266 R!: Ehin.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 1267 S...: Mnaphiyale mpaani mmo owaani nwo,
 ||:tmp: P | L: h | d | +L: h | d |
 When you get inside, at the house
- 1268 R!: Aan
 <X>
 Yes
- 1269 S...: onkela enyu okowookoma nwo nwo,
 _ | m: ||r/ac=loc: P/aux| <S> | ncl || | d | d ||
 where you are going to make your home,
- 1270 R!: Ehin.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 1271 S...: vaveee, mookome. Ekatera mpurule mookome co.
 || idp: Idp | P ||: O | P ||: P | A ||
 as for smoking, sit down. . . pull out your chair and sit like this.
- 1272 R!: Aan.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 1273 S...: Vano mnookomale vale,
 ||:tmp: & | P | A ||
Then when you have sit down,
- 1274 R!: Ehin Mkuse sikaro mwintthukulele va meeca va.
 <X> _|| !: P | O || !: P/e=dr/+O | L: h | d ||
 Take. . . open the cigarettes on the table.
- 1276 R<: Vale anonhimeeryaca pi amweetti awe ale?
 :psclft+?: A | P/e=apl+clt | S+F >
 Is it his hostess who is advising him at this point?
- 1277 S: Nyenyu.
 <X>
 Exactly.
- 1278 R: Aan.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 1279 S>: Va meeca va mwintthukulele,
 | -L | -P ||
 Open them on the table.
- 1280 R!: Ehin.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 1281 S...: Vano nyu mookome.
 ||:!: & | S | P. ||
 Then, you sit down.
- 1282 R!: Aan.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 1283 S...: Amwaara enyu ayo yanookhanyenrihani wira mrupe,
 ||:ccv: S: h | m | d | P/e=dr+cs/+O | Q: | !: P
 nyu mwakhotte.
 | || !: S | P ||
 Even if your wife urges you: sleep. You must refuse.
- 1284 R*: Nyu mwakhotte.
 | -S | -P ||
 You must refuse.
- 1285 S...: Mwakhotte, amwaara enyu ayo yanarupaathi.
 ||:!: P ||: ccv: S:h | m | d | P ||
 You must refuse even if your wife is sleeping.

- 1286 R: Mookome tooko.
 ||: P | A ||
 You should first stay sitting a little.
- 1287 S: Moonaka wilra amwaara aka ahorupa,
 ||:tmp: P | Q: | | | S: h | m | P ||
 When you see that your wife [my wife] is already asleep,
- 1288 R: Aan.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 1289 S: Mtthukule ecanela emoca eyo,
 ||: P | O: h | m | d ||
 open one of the windows.
- 1290 R: Ehin.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 1291 S: Mtthukule mhiye yooneelo.
 ||: P | O ||
 Open and leave it open.
- 1292 R: Aayo.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 1293 S: Vano mkolomweke omiya sikaro ennyu owo.
 ||: & | P | O: ||: P+O | O: h | m | d || ||
 Then, start smoking your cigarettes.
- 1294 S: Mwiniyekeee.
 ||: P+O ||
 Smoke it [as long as you like]
- 1295 S: Yookohani amwaara ennyu ayo, mwilireke wilra: mhn mhn
 ||:ctg: P+O | S: h | m | d || !+Qt: P | Q: | | | S: <U> | <U>
 minnyano koolamanla
 > | S | P/e=apl ||
 If your wife asks you should reply as follows: oh, I myself, I am used to it.
- 1296 S: Mahuku menci akinrupa.
 ||: A: h | m | P ||
 I go many days without sleeping.
- 1297 R: Ehin.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 1298 S: NI natiri aka aahokhala; Keerale nihuku noomthela
 ||:cpl: & | S: h | m | P ||:Qt: P | Q: | | | S: tmp: A: h | ||r: P+O
 mthiyana,
 | O ||
 And I made a vow; I said the day I marry a woman,
- 1299 R: Aayo.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 1300 S: Kookome nihuku eee, mpaka: khukumuuu, kinookomale.
 -||: P | A | +A: || tmp+ldp: A | ldp || | +A: || tmp: P || ||
 I shall sit up the whole night until dawn staying sitting.
- 1301 R: Aan.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 1302 S: Orupa woosenliya,
 -||: A: ||: P || | m: || gi: P/e=apl+ps || |
 [Then when you have] slept [one night] and awoken,
- 1303 R: Ehn.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 1304 S: nikusenraneke.
 -||: P/e=apl+rcp || ||
 we will start sleeping together.

- 1305 R!: EhIn.
<X>
Yes.
- 1306 S...: Evale.
||:mnr: A ||
Like that.
- 1307 R!: Aayo.
<X>
Yes.
- 1308 S...: Anaatthuna ayo.
||: P | S | ||
She will accept it.
- 1309 S...: Wiiriya: Mhn, khavarikale vanoonyoonya paahi va,
||:Qt+pv: P/e=ps | Q: f:loc: <U> | P ||:loc: P | A | S
amweetti aka.
| < V: h | m > | ||
He said: oh it is not difficult but bothersome only, my friend.
- 1310 R!: EhIn.
<X>
Yes.
- 1311 S...: Pwanrowa awe olooca; hothumaca cenze, howliha, hookomana.
||:stv: P | S | L ||: P | O ||: P/e=cs ||: P/e=rcp ||
That is when he went to the shop and bought those things and he brought them and sat down with them.
- 1312 R!: EhIn.
<X>
Yes.
- 1313 S...: Eneeriya: Mhn, va keera pi okhoola?
||:Qt+Indf: P/e=ps | Q: f:nom+?: <U> | S | qtag | *S:cpl; h: || I: P || | ||
She said: now, is it time for you to go?
- 1314 S...: Wiiriya: pi okhoola.
||: Qt+pv: P/e=ps | Q: f:nom: *S:cpl; h | ||
He said: it is time for me to go.
- 1315 S...: Ncuwa nneerale co.
||:S | P | A ||
The sun was so high.
- 1316 R!: EhIn.
<X>
Yes.
- 1317 S...: Awa nwe, haaphwanya atthu ale.
||:tmp: P | L ||: P+O | Q:h | d ||
When, he came to there, he found the crowd.
- 1318 R!: EhIn.
<X>
Yes.
- 1319 S...: Salama?
||:mnr: Q: f:nom+?: *S | ||
How are you?
- 1320 S...: Salama.
||:mnr: Q: f:nom: *S | ||
All right.
- 1321 S...: Khu pi co; etthoko pi yeela.
||: mnr:Q: f:excl+nom: <X> | *S:cpl | d || nom: S | *S:cpl | d | ||
Here you are; this is now your family.
- 1322 R!: Aan.
<X>
Yes.
- 1323 S...: Mpaani onaripelale,
||:mnr: L || tmp: P ||
[They went] into the house, when it got dark.

- 1324 R!: Aan.
<X>
Yes.
- 1325 S...: Wakeliya mpaani mmwe wookomaciya,
||:tmp: P/e=ps | L:h | d || ctv: P/e=clt+ps ||
When they got into the house and sat down together,
- 1326 R!: Aan.
<X>
Yes.
- 1327 S...: Ohookomaciya, woopiya mwaha vakaanl vale, athiyana ale
-||: P/e=clt+ps ||: pv: P/e=ps | S | A | A ||:Qt+pv: S: h | d
wiira: mhn wooceya.
| P | Q: [':pv: <U> | P |] ||
They sat down and conversed a little bit, the woman said: oh [I am] tired.
- 1328 R!: Ehin.
<X>
Yes.
- 1329 S...: Athiyana ale ahorupaathi.
||: S: h | d | P ||
The woman lay down on the bed.
- 1330 R!: Aan.
<X>
Yes.
- 1331 S...: Ollili pi ola ola.
||:mnr: Q: [':nom: S | *S:cpl | h: d | d] ||
This is the bed.
- 1332 R!: Aan.
<X>
Yes.
- 1333 S...: Eneeriya: mhn, pi yeeyo,
||:Qt+Indf: P/e=ps | Q: [': nom: <U> | *S: cpl | h ||
He said: It is all right.
- 1334 R!: Aan.
<X>
Yes.
- 1335 S...: Kinaarupaathi.
||: P |] ||
I will lie down.
- 1336 R!: Ehin.
<X>
Yes.
- 1337 S...: Hopurula ekhatera ehimeeriye awe ele, homphirula sikaro awe
||: P | O:h | [': P/e=ps | S |] | d ||: P+O | O:h | m
ole vale
| d | L ||
He pulled out the chair as he was told, he unpacked his cigarettes
- 1338 S...: hookoma vano hanca omiya.
||: P ||: & | P | O:[': P+O] ||
then he sat down and started smoking it.
- 1339 R!: Aan.
<X>
Yes.
- 1340 S...: Mwenye mrupaathiki.
||:mnr:Q: [': V | P |] ||
My dear, come and sleep.
- 1341 S...: Wiiriya: kinaarupaathi.
||:Qt+pv: P/e=ps | Q: [': P |] ||
He said: I will sleep.
- 1342 R': Kinaarupaathi.
| -P ||
I will sleep.

- 1343 S...: Khumiyaka pwe pwe; omiya vale: khiya khiya khiya
 ||:ctv+idp: P+O | Idp ||:pv+idp: P+O | A | Idp
 khiya.
 |||
 And he carried on smoking blowing out the smoke, smoking like that, like
 a chimney.
- 1344 S...: Ahn, mhn, ahorupa ala.
 ||:mnr: Q: [': <U> | <U> | P | S] |||
 Oh, she has gone to sleep.
- 1345 R! : EhIn.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 1346 S...: Pwantthukula awe ecanela ele vale.
 ||:stv: P/e=rsv | S | O:h | d | L ||
 Then he opened that window [the one he had been told to]
- 1347 R! : Aan.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 1348 S...: Khwookomaka ciccammwe.
 ||:ctv: P | A |||
 and sat down as before.
- 1349 R! : Aan.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 1350 S...: Vano athiyana ale vale ahorupa.
 ||: & | S:h | d | A | P |||
 Then, the woman slept.
- 1351 R! : Aan.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 1352 S...: Orupa, paapa orupa.
 ||:pv: P | <V> | +P |
 She slept, my! , father, she slept.
- 1353 R' : Orupa.
 | -P |||
 She slept.
- 1354 S...: Mhm .
 <X>
 My !
- 1355 R< : Hata vanliyalila ocapiyaka: puun.
 | A | A: [r/ac=loc: P/e=ps ||:ctv+idp: P | Idp |||
 To the point that she forgot and farted, phew!
- 1356 S : Paapa, va punkela ehu va.
 ||:nom: <V> | A | *S:cpl | h: [r: P | S] | A |||
 Father, that is where we are going to [where the story runs].
- 1357 R: Khweeli?
 ||:nom+?: *S |||
 True?
- 1358 S : Elele!
 ||:mnr+excl: A |||
 Indeed it is.
- 1359 R: Mhu!
 <X>
 It is?
- 1360 S>: Paapa, parowale aya vale, parupale aya vale, ponale awe
 ||:stv: <V> | P | S | A ||:stv: P | S | A ||:stv: P+O | S
 athiyana ale ale,
 | O:h | d | d |
 Fawher, then she slept and she slept and he saw the woman,
- 1361 S...: va vale vale vanaaweha awe vale vale,
 | A: d | d | h: [r/ac=loc: P | S] | d | d |...
 as he gazed at her,

- 1362 R!: Aan.
<X>
Yes.
- 1363 S...: Noona weettelana,
...| P+O | OR:[I: P/e=rcp |
He saw [her body] rippling.
- 1364 R+: Mittepho.
...| S || ||
Twitching.
- 1365 S...: Varupaathale aya vale aan; weettelana: kukuru, kukuru;
...| A:[I: P | S || | d | <U> || +OR:[I+idp: P/e=rcp | Idp | +
weetta etthu eyo
OR:[I: P | S:h | d ||
Where she was sleeping [her body] was rippling rumble rumble, the thing
was moving
- 1366 S...: Ntoko wilra ekelaka nno ommilo,
||:tmp: A: pp | h | P | L: d | d ||
as if it was to go to the throat.
- 1367 R!: Aayo.
<X>
Yes.
- 1368 S...: ohokoleya voorowa ottuli.
...|| pv: P | A: || a: P || | L ||
and then, to return going back.
- 1369 R!: Aan.
<X>
Yes.
- 1370 S...: Paapa paneera aya ocapa: kuuun.
||:stv: <V> | P/aux | <S> | ncl | Idp ||
Father, that is when she farted pooh!
- 1371 R+: Khu!
<X>
Oh, dear me!
- 1372 S...: Ocapa nriya: kuuun.
...|+P/ncl ||:Qt+Indf+Idp: P/e=ps| Idp ||
She farted, really, pooh!
- 1373 R+: Masi ole aanlya sikaro ole otuthuwa.
||:pv: & | S:d | h:[I: P | O || | d | P ||
So that even the fellow who was smoking cigarettes was startled.
- 1374 S...: Vano yenanl: ruku ruku.
||:Idp: & | S | Idp ||
Then him, he started back.
- 1375 S...: Paapa veerale awe vale amumule,
||:tmp: <V> | A: [I:ac=loc: P/aux| <S> | <d> | ncl || ||
Father, when he wanted to take a breath,
- 1376 R!: Aan.
<X>
Yes.
- 1377 S...: Ephula nyo, amumule: mh mh m mh; noophutuwa: phutu vacanelani
...||:tmp: I:h| d | P || Idp: Idp ||:Idp: P | Idp | L: h
vale.
| d ||
his nose, trying to breath, ugh! ugh! ugh! ; he popped [his head out] quick
out of the window.
- 1378 S...: Muru ole okumihara vale.
...||:pv: O:h | d | P/e=cs+dr | L ||
His head to get it outside.
- 1379 S...: Omumula, paapa: mh, mh, mh, mh.
||:Idp+pv: P | <V> | Idp ||
He took breaths, my! , father, panting away.
- 1380 R?: Khu, khweel!!?
||:excl+nom+?: <U> | *S ||
What? Really?

- 1381 S...: Amananihe wllra ootokole tho nno,
 ||:tmp: P | O:[I: P/aux | ncl | enc | L] ||
 When he tried again to see [whether things were all right],
- 1382 R!: Aan.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 1383 S...: nno ophwanyera: ohl, mh mh mh mh.
 ||:pv: L | P/e=apl | Idp ||
 he found it still there, pant, pant, pant.
- 1384 R!: Aayo.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 1385 S...: Okhala mowllra: vokha, wllra: aayo.
 ||:cpl+pv: P | SC :[I a: P | Idp] || Qt+pv: P | Q: [' mnr: <U>
 vano pookomale awe.
] ||:stv: & | P | S ||
 Then, it became diminished and he said: [now] It is all right. Then, he sat down.
- 1386 R!: Aan.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 1387 S...: Wllra: etthu ele ehovira.
 ||:Qt+pv: P | Q: [' S: h | d | P] ||
 He said: the thing is over.
- 1388 R!: Ehin.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 1389 S...: Phakhanle awe vakaani, phakhanle awe vakaani, phakhanle awe
 ||:stv: P | S | A | =P | =S | =A | =P | =
 vakaani,
 S | =A ||
 He waited a little, he waited a little, he waited a little,
- 1390 R!: Aan.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 1391 S...: Noona enaweettelana tho. Pammwehecesa awe vano.
 ||: P | OC:[I: P/e=rcp | enc ||:stv: P/e=Int | S | A ||
 he saw it moving again. That is when he stared at it.
- 1392 S...: Paapa pakhumale aya etthu, eeeethu, omakhuttuni waya
 ||:stv: <V> | P | S | =S | =S ||:Idp: L: h | m
 nwo: theleelee,
 | d | Idp ||
 Father, there came out something, my! , something! from her buttocks,slithering.
- 1393 S...: Enari enowa.
 ||:cpl: P | S ||
 It was a snake.
- 1394 R?: Aan, enowa?
 <X> | -S ||
 Aha? A snake?
- 1395 S...: Enowa pakhumale aya: theleeleee.
 ||:stv: S | P | S | Idp ||
 A snake then came out slithering.
- 1396 S...: Yenani mwaalo awe ole pwakusale awe vano wllra:
 ||: stv: S | O: h | m | d | P | S || Qt+pv: & | P |
 mhm mhm,
 Q: [' nom: <U> | <U> |
 The man took his knife and said: ho ho!
- 1397 R=: Elelo pl elelo enyu va.
 || S | *S:cpl | h | m | A ||
 You have had your day today.
- 1398 S...: Ela etthu ela!
 ||:excl+mnr: S: d | h | d | ||
 What a thing!

- 1399 S...: Yilraka: theleelee; -pwavarale awe mru ole,
 ||:tmp+Idp: P | Idp || stv: P | S | O: h | d ||
 When it slithered out he grabbed it by the head,
- 1400 R!: Aan.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 1401 S...: Yeele etthu enkhumela ele: ttu, wuru, wuru,
 ||:Idp: O: d | h | ||r: P || | d | Idp || Idp: Idp
 wuru, ttuphuu.
 || Idp: Idp ||
 that thing that is coming out, and [cut] wollop, saw, saw, saw, chop!
- 1402 R!: Aan.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 1403 S...: Peerale aya ele etthu ele: theleelee, theleelee,
 ||:stv+Qt: P | S | +S: d | h | d | Q: l': Idp: Idp |
 theleelee, mpaani mmwe enowa
 | || Idp: L: h | d | S: h |
 Then, that thing came slither, slither, and the snake
- 1404 S...: ele: tapha, tapha, -tapha.
 || d | Idp ||
 [filled] the house clock-a-block
- 1405 R+: Ocala mpaani mmwe?
 ||:pv+?: P | L: h | d ||
 Filling the house.
- 1406 S...: Ocala aan, yookhwa ene vano.
 ||:pv: P | <U> | S: || gl: P || | m | A ||
 Filling the house, yes, it was then completely dead.
- 1407 S...: Phwanookoma awe.
 ||:stv: P | S ||
 And then the man sat down.
- 1408 S...: Athiyana anaarupa va.
 ||: S | P | A ||
 The woman was still asleep.
- 1409 R!: Aan.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 1410 S...: Va khaancuwela etthu ene va.
 ||: A | P | O: h | m | +A ||
 She did not know yet what had happened.
- 1411 R+: Ocapa nwe, enowa ele,
 ||: O:h | d | +O: h | d |
 The farting, the snake
- 1412 S...: Khaacuwelale, khaavuwelale.
 || P ||: P/e=apl ||
 She was totally unaware, she did not awake.
- 1413 R!: Aan.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 1414 S...: Phookomale awe, phookomale awe phookomale awe phookomale awe,
 ||:stv: P | S | =P | =S | =P | =S || | =P | =S
 yoole ole,
 | +S ||
 He sat, he sat, he sat, he sat, that fellow,
- 1415 R!: Aayo.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 1416 S...: Paneera awe: vano ahophiya vammusiya aya.
 || stv+Qt: P | S | Q: l': A | P | A: ||r: P/e=ps | S || ||
 Then he said: she has reached the point to be woken up.
- 1417 R*: Vano vahophiya, vahophiya.
 | -A | -P | -P ||
 The time has come, the time has come.

- 1418 S...: Etthu cootene khaaminuwenla, khaampakaca mwaylini?
 ||: Q: h | m | P/e=api || ? : P | A ||
 She did not wake up through everything that has happened, was she doing
 it deliberately?
- 1419 R!: Aan.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 1420 S...: Pwaneerliya: nyenyu attoottho, attoottho, attottho nyu.
 ||:stv+Qt: P/e=ps | Q: l': V: d | h | +V | +V: h | d | ||
 He then said: hey, you, my wife, my wife my wife, you,
- 1421 S...: Lapeee.
 ||:mnr:Q:l': FR | ||
 Yes?
- 1422 R*: Lapeee.
 | -FR ||
 Yes?
- 1423 S...: Masi mwaahokhala.
 : & | P >
 Exactly. [you respond as if you were there].
- 1424 S...: Wiirliya: nkavuwani.
 ||:Qt+pv: P/e=ps | Q: l': P | ||
 He said: please wake up.
- 1425 S...: Pammuwa aya.
 ||:stv: P | S ||
 She woke up.
- 1426 R!: Ehln.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 1427 S...: Pwaneera awe: masi mwinnorupa onyala.
 ||:stv+Qt: P | S | Q: l':excl: & | P | A: ||: P || | ||
 Then he said: how deep you sleep!
- 1428 S...: Wiirliya: mm, puurupa cllcammo, nyu
 ||:stv+Qt+pv: P/e=ps | Q: l':nom: <U> | *S:cpl: h | S ||:nom+?: <V>
 eseeni ehlnrupa enyu eyo?
 | *S | S:l'r: P | S | || d ||
 She said: oh that is what sleep is; why do you not sleep too?
- 1429 S...: Wiira: min ohaawa kipaceraale khalayl.
 ||:Qt+pv: P | Q: l': S | O | P/e=api | A | ||
 He said: I started having a bad time long ago.
- 1430 R~: Keera winla onaarupiya?
 ||: qtag: | Q: l':tmp: P ||: P/e=ps | | ||
 Is it not when it is night that people sleep?
- 1431 S!: Aayo.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 1432 S...: Pwaneerliya: paahl eseeni eyo?
 ||:stv+Qt: P/e=ps | Q: l':nom+?: A | *S | S | ||
 Then he said: now, what is that?
- 1433 R!: Aan.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 1434 S...: Nthoonya enowa ele vale.
 ||: P | Q: h | d | A ||
 He is pointing to the snake there.
- 1435 R!: Aan.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 1436 S...: Eseeni?
 | -*S ||
 What?

1437 S...: Paneera athiyana ale ewoora ethurumelale aya ewehaka, yiirale;
 ||:stv: P | S: h | d | A: h | ||r: P | S || ctv: P || Q: P
 ylih eseeni ela?

| Q: l':excl+nom+?: <U> | *S | S | ||
 And then the woman when she craned and looked at it said: oh goodness, what is this?

1438 S...: Wiirliya: mn, mhituthuwe; ela etthu ela
 ||:Qt+pv: P/e=ps | Q: l':!<U> | P ||:clft: Q: d | h | d
 ti nyu mkumihale.

| S+F | P ||
 He said: No! do not be scared, this thing, it is you who brought it out.

1439 R!: Aayo.

<X>

Yes.

1440 S...: Kuukohekeni oratta ene wiira: yeela etthu ela ela
 ||: P+O | A: h | m | Q: i | l':nom+?: S: d | h | d | d
 eseeni?
 | *S | | ||

I have to ask you politely: what is this thing?

1441 R!: Aan.

<X>

Yes.

1442 S...: Pwaneera aya ale wuulumaca: pl yaamala
 ||:stv+Qt: P | S | +S | A: ||i: P || | Q: l':nom+excl: *S: cpl | h: ||r: P+O
 atthu ela!
 | O || | d | ||

And the woman said [in] speaking: that is what was finishing people off.

1443 R!: Khu!

<X>

Oh!

1444 S...: Khwiiraka yenani: atthu ayo yaanamala va va?
 ||:ctv+Qt: P | S | Q: l':?: S: h | d | P | L | ||
 And he said: were people coming to an end here then?

1445 R!: Aan.

<X>

Yes.

1446 S...: Wiirliya: mhm mhm, nyu ntoko khamwinwale othana
 ||:Qt+pv: P/e=ps | Q: l':?: <U> | <U> | S | A | P | A: h
 vale.
 | d | ||

She said: no, no, as if you did not hear [what was being said] during [yester]day.

1447 R!: Ehin.

<X>

Yes.

1448 S...: Wiirliya: mhm mkolomleke ottokaca oratta ene.
 ||:Qt+pv: P/e=ps | Q: l':!<U> | P | O: ||i: P | A: h | m | ||
 He said: no, start telling it fully.

1449 S...: Wiirliya: min kaanathelea, keera akaathelea va.
 ||:Qt+pv: P/e=ps | Q: l': S | P/e=sv || qtag: l': P | L | ||
 She said: was I a marriageable woman? no, I was not.

1450 R!: Ehn.

<X>

Yes.

1451 S...: Wiirliya: mhm, kaahiki.
 ||:Qt+pv: P/e=ps | Q: l':mnr: <U> | A | ||
 He said: oh, I did not know.

1452 R!: Ehin.

<X>

Yes.

1453 S...: Va vaneera cammo va,
 ||:tmp: A: d | ||r/ac=loc: P | A || | d ||
 When this was happening,

1454 R!: Aan.

<X>

Yes.

1455 S...: Mithupl: cuu.

...|| Idp: S | Idp |||

the cocks [crowed] cock-a-doodle.

1456 R+: Cihokela wilpa?

|||:?: P | O: ||i: P |||

They started crowing.

1457 S...: Wilpa.

...| P |||

Crow.

1458 R+: Aan, okolomwa okhukummwa.

|||:pv: <U> | P | O: ||i: P |||

Yes, [day] started dawning.

1459 S...: NI ataata awe mtthu mmwe, ataata awe ale,

|||: & | S:h | m | m | l | +S: h | m | d |

And his father-in-law in [his house] over there, his father-in-law,

1460 R!: Aan.

<X>

Yes.

1461 S...: Ahokhoola wu.

...| P | L |||

came from there.

1462 R!: EhIn.

<X>

Yes.

1463 S...: Yeele eweelo aya ele: kitti kitti kitti, vankhora

|||:tmp: A: d | h | m | d | Idp

|||:mnr: L: h

vale: "te-me sensa, te-me sensa".

| d | Q: l': P+O | O | =P+O | =O | |||

When he came plod plod plod to the door: may I come in, may I come in, may I come in?

1464 S...: Aakhulale ti yoola mtheli ola.

|||:psclft: P | S+F

It was the bridegroom who replied,

1465 R!: Aan.

<X>

Yes.

1466 S...: Lapeeka taata.

| Q: l': FR | <V> | |||

Yes? Father.

1467 R!: Aan.

<X>

Yes.

1468 S...: Wilra: mhm, hosenliya, mtheli owo!?

|||:Qt+pv: P | Q: l':excl+?: <U> | P/e=apl+ps | S:h | d |||

He said: oh, he is all right, the bridegroom.

1469 R~: Nriya: mtthu owo haavo nwo!?

|||:qtag: P/e=ps | Q: l':cpl+?: S:h | d | P | L |||

Sure, the person is still [alive] there.

1470 R~: Khaamwinvale mavi ayo!

|||:excl: P+O | S: h | d |||

The pong did not kill him.

1471 S...: Nyenyu nriya cayi!?

|||:nom+?: <V> | qtag | A | |||

Oh, you, how can it be?

1472 R!: Aan.

<X>

Yes.

- 1473 S... Ahule mkhora ole, wiriya: kahl panhuliya
 ||:tmp: P | Q: h | d || ||:Qt+pv: P/e=ps | Q: f:nom: *S: pp | cpl | h:
 mkhora.
 ||r/ac=loc P/e=ps | S || ||
 When he was just about to open the door, [the father-in-law] said: no, this
 is not the situation to open the door.
- 1474 R!: Mhin.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 1475 S... Va veerale cayi?
 ||:loc?: S | P | A || ||
 How did this happen?
- 1476 S... Nkhl mmaka, owicisu va vale vale... maana
 ||:mnr+excl: A | S | A | L || ||:csl: cnj
 ocuweliyaka wira... ni ehipa caya, wathipiye avithiye oyo.
 | P/e=ps | Q: i ||: A: & | h | m | P/e=ps || ppv: P/e=ps | S ||
 You should see lots of muslims there in the morning, as they knew that...
 with their hoes for digging and bury him.
- 1477 R+: Maana pi yeeyo etthoko enokhala
 ||:mnr: Q: f:csl+cpl+cift: cnj | S+F | P
 okhwilya ru
 | SC: || i: P | en || || ||
 As it is the family where people are always dying.
- 1478 S!: Aayo.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 1479 S... Yiriye: mtthu haavo; etthu eyo mmwe henva
 ||:Qt+indf: P/e=ps | Q: f:cpl: S | P ||: O:h | d | L | P ||
 He said: the person is still [alive]; the thing in there he has killed it.
- 1480 R!: Aayo.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 1481 S... Enoozana.
 ||: P | || ||
 [The house] is full.
- 1482 S... Paapa, waakeliya ni mcurukhu mmwe, elilvura pili, enoota,
 ||: <V> | P/e=ps | A: & | h | L | +A: h | m | +A || ||
 Father, people went in there with money [to the value of] two [libras],
 or one escudo.
- 1483 R?: Khweeli?
 ||:nom+?: *S || ||
 Really?
- 1484 S... Wooniya etthu ele ele.
 ||:ppv+pv: P/e=ps | S:h | d | d || ||
 In order to see the thing.
- 1485 R!: Aan.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 1486 S!: Nyenyu!
 <X>
 Oh, my!
- 1487 S... Wiriya: elooca eyo pi ela; ya wa aa.
 ||: Qt+pv: P/e=ps | Q: f:nom: S: h | d | *S:cpl | d ||:nom: *S || ||
 He said: this is the shop, it is yours.
- 1488 R!: Ehin.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 1489 S... Wookomaneke va.
 ||:!: P/e=rcp | L | || ||
 You may [have it to] live in.
- 1490 R!: Ehin.
 <X>
 Yes.

- 1491 S...: Wookomaneke va.
| -P | -L |||
You may [have it to] live in.
- 1492 R!: Aan.
<X>
Yes.
- 1493 S...: Hookomana vaavale vale elooca awe eieeee.
||: P | L: d | d | O:h | m | d |||
He lived there, there in his shop.
- 1494 S...: NI mkhu awe ole wu neera pwilraka: paahi va,
||: Qt+!: & | S:h | m | d | | | -P | +P/ec | Q: !': A | A |
and his friend [the other Mhammati] said: now then,
- 1495 R!: Aan.
<X>
Yes.
- 1496 S...: Nirukunuwace,
... | P/e=clt |||
let us go back.
- 1497 R!: Ehin.
<X>
Yes.
- 1498 S...: Niroweke nno wa amayi ehu, nootoleke.
||: P | L: d | h | m || ppv: P | |||
Let us go to our mother's, let us go and visit.
- 1499 R!: Aan.
<X>
Yes.
- 1500 S...: Wiiriya: pwacivale.
||: Qt/+pv: P/e=ps | Q: !': nom: cpl|h: || r/at=loc: P || |||
He said: all right.
- 1501 R!: Aan.
<X>
Yes.
- 1502 S<: Mas! napheelale winviya tho yoola ola nriya
||: & | P/aux | ncl/e=ps | enc | S: d | d ||: Qt+Indf: P/=ps
aahopheela winviya olaaa.
| Q: !': P/aux | ncl/e=ps | S |||
But [I should have said] he was about to be killed, he supposedly was going to be killed.
- 1503 R: Yoole tho ole?
||: mnr+?: S: d | enc | d |||
That [Mhammati of Mamapa-khomal?
- 1504 S: Aayo, aahopheela winviya, yoole mpatthani awe ole ole asicula
||: <U> | P/aux | ncl/e=ps | T: d | h | m | d | d | r: h
awe.
| m |||
Yes, he was soon to be killed, that friend of his, it was his nephews [who wanted to kill him].
- 1505 R: Aan, aan, aan.
<X> | <X> | <X> |
Yes, yes, yes.
- 1506 S: maana muneerthiya amaathi aya ale waarusa.
||: csl+pv: cnj | O: ||r/ac=loc: P/e=cs+ps | S | m | d || | P+O |||
as the way their aunt was treated they were upset by it.
- 1507 S>: Wiiriya. amaathi mnamwaalawliha.
||: Qt+pv: P/e=ps | Q: !': O | P/e=cs | |||
They said: our aunt, you permit advantage to be taken of her.
- 1508 R!: Aan.
<X>
Yes.
- 1509 S!>: Aah.
<X>
Yes.

- 1510 R<: Masi kuuhimeeryeni. mtuniani nnema khamivo.
 ||:cpl: & | :Qt: P/e=apl/+0 > | L | S | P ||
 Indeed, I tell you, in [this] world there is no gratitude [peace].
- 1511 S: Nyu!
 <X>
 Yes, indeed.
- 1512 R: Moocuwela?
 ||:?: P ||
 You know.
- 1513 S>: Vano pwankhusiya awe yoole ole.
 ||: stv: & | P/e=ps | S | +S: d | d ||
 Then, he was induced to go.
- 1514 R!: Aan.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 1515 S...: Eneerlya: mttwe neettakace.
 ||:Qt+Indf: P/e=ps | Q: f':! P || ppv: P/e=clt | ||
 He [Mhammati of Mam pa-Khoma] said: let us go for a visit.
- 1516 R!: Ehin.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 1517 S...: Pwankhoolaciya aya mpaka wa amayi awe,
 ||: stv: P/e=clt+ps | S | A | L: h | m ||
 They left then [to go] to his mother's,
- 1518 R!: Mhn.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 1519 S...: Yoole oleee, yaamwinvale ale.
 ... | r: d | d | ||r: P+0 || | d ||
 that one. . . , the one who [tried to] kill him.
- 1520 S...: Eneerlya: ola ti pani mwinnocuwela?
 ||:Qt+Indf: P/e=ps | Q: f':nom+?: S | *S:cpl | h || ? : P+0 | ||
 [The stranger] said [to the woman]: who is this, do you know him?
- 1521 S...: Wiirlya: hin khannocuwela ola, masi nincuwelaka.
 ||:Qt+pv: P/e=ps | Q: f': S | P | O ||: & | P+0 ||
 They said: we do not know him and we do know him.
- 1522 S...: Nyu kahi Mhammati ola?
 ||:nom+?: <V> | *S: pp | h | d | ||
 Is it not Mr. Mhammati?
- 1523 S...: Wiirlya: ti yooxo Mhammati ola, haavo
 ||: Qt+pv: P/e=ps | Q: f':nom: *S: cpl | d | h | d ||:cpl: P
 nlelo.
 | A ||
 He said: it is the same Mhammati, he is still alive.
- 1524 R!: Aan.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 1525 S...: Va khamwinvale tho, masi Mhammati ti n'yoola ola.
 ||: A | P+0 | enc ||:nom: & | S | *S:cpl | d | d ||
 Now, you did not kill him [as you wanted], he is the same Mhammati.
- 1526 R!: Aayo.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 1527 S...: Vano nna va,
 ||: & | A: d | | |
 Now, from now on,
- 1528 R!: Aan.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 1529 S...: wiira naawa tho mmwaanimu mu, khamwa tho.
 | Q: f' | f': P | enc | L: h | d ||: P | enc | ||
 as for coming again in this region, he will never come.

- 1530 R!: Ehin.
<X>
Yes.
- 1531 S...: Novira eerukunusaka,
||: P/aux | ncl |
He is going to travel around.
- 1532 R!: Aayo.
<X>
Yes.
- 1533 S...: Waakhu ennyu.
... | L: h | m | ||
In the land of others [abroad].
- 1534 R!: Ehin.
<X>
Yes.
- 1535 S...: Ole khurwaka wonwe nkela akhalaka wonwe nwe ni
||:ctv: S | P | L ||:ctv: P/aux | ncl | L:d | d | A:
acikhu awe ale,
& | h | m | d |
And he went abroad there, he stayed there [in the land of others] with his fellows.
- 1536 R!: Aayo.
<X>
Yes.
- 1537 S...: Yoole aarina awe ole ole, ni elooca awe
... | +A: d | ||r+cpl: P | S || | d | d || ctv: & | O: h | m
mtthukulaka.
| P ^{one} ||
[with] the ^{one} he satayed with and he opened his shop.
- 1538 S...: NI amuci ala nno otampi wunnuwacera,
||:pv: & | S:h | d | L | S | P/e=apl ||
Meanwhile his relatives in here grew ashamed
- 1539 R!: Aan.
<X>
Yes.
- 1540 S...: maphiyero wu wooceela.
||:pv: O | L | P/e=apl || note: maphiyero | wu
as for going there they were not able to.
- 1541 R!: Aan.
<X>
Yes.
- 1542 S...: Pwanaaca aka wira..., paapa wuuhimeeryani wira:
||:stv: P | S | Q:i ... | <V> | O: ||i: P/e=apl/+O | Q:i |
ncuwa no meelo,
|' : A: h | m: | g: pp | h |
That is why, father, I want to tell you, that tomorrow's sun, [in future],
- 1543 S...: weeta khuncuweliya,
... | S: ||i: P || | P/e=ps ||>
you never know the future.
- 1544 R!: Aahin.
<X>
Yes.
- 1545 S...: Niuku ti vetekula,
||:nom: S | *S:cpl | h ||>
God is the Dispenser,
- 1546 R!: Aan.
<X>
Yes.
- 1547 S! : Aan.
<X>
Yes.

- 1548 R<: Vano Namarupi ale yaarumenla ale ekwaha yoopaca ele
 :?: & | S:h | d | [[r: P/e=apl]] | d | | A:h | m: [[gi: P]] | d
 anootthawa?
 | P |||
 Now, Nnamarupi who was responding [to the story teller] on the first occasion;
 has he escaped?
- 1549 R: Akenle vayi? Namarupi ale?
 ||::?: P | A | S: h | d |||
 Where has he gone, that Mr Marupi?
- 1550 S: Anaawa.
 ||:: P |||
 He will come [in due course].
- 1551 R: Anaawa?
 | -P |||
 Will he?
- 1552 S: Aayo, etarefa cinomwencia.
 ||:: <U> ||: S | P+O |||
 Yes; tasks are many for him. (he has many tasks to perform).
- 1553 R: Etarefa pincivale?
 ||:nom+?: S | *S:cpl | h:[[r: P]] |||
 It is the tasks which are many.
- 1554 S: Aayo.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 1555 R: Mhn.
 <X> >
 All right.
- 1556 S>: Vano vaavale vale pwanaaca aka wuuhimeeryani wiira:
 ||:stv: & | A: d | d | P | S | O: [[i: P/e=apl/+O]] | Q:i
 paapa meelo,
 | P: <V> | A |
 That is why I want to tell you, father, in future (tomorrow)
- 1557 R!: Aan.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 1558 S...: mtthepwa mwilimpake awinyu.
 ...| O2 | P+O | O |||
 do not show disrespect to your [relatives].
- 1559 R!: Aayo.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 1560 S...: Mtthepwa khannopankaniya mtthu awe mtthu.
 ||:: S | P/e=rcp+ps | OR: h | m | r |||
 Disrespect must not be shown between people who belong to each other.
- 1561 R!: Aan.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 1562 S...: Nihuku nnokhwa ennyu,
 ||:: A: h | [[r: P] | S |||
 The day you die,
- 1563 R!: Aan.
 <X>
 Yes.
- 1564 S...: Yoola ola mwanamoona mtthu, ole mpatthani ennyu
 ...| S: d | d... ||:ccv: P+O | O ... | O:[[i: S: d | h | m
 wuunemihani,
 | CC: [[i: P/e=cs/+O |||
 it is him. . . , even if you see that person. . . , your friend being benevolent
 to you,
- 1565 R!: Aan.
 <X>
 Yes.

1566 S...: Yaala amuci ennyu ala ala pi anoonemihani ala.
 ...|| nom: S:d | h | m | d | d | *S:cpl | h:|r: P/e=cs+0 ||i'nd | ||
 It is your clansmen who show benevolence to you [in the end].

1567 R!: Aan.
 <X>
 Yes.

1568 S!: Aayo.
 <X>
 Yes.

1569 R?: Conmo va?
 ||:mnr+?: A | A ||
 Is it like that?

1570 R<: Elawihye ninweke, elawihye nwo ninwe.
 ||:!: P/e=ps || ppv: P ||:!: P/e=ps | L || ppv: P ||
 [to the Investigator]: Please, try it so that we can listen, try it there
 so that we can listen.

1571 S: Ekirumele nwo.
 ||:!: P/e=apl/+0 | L ||
 [to the Investigator]: let it play for me.

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